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The Cambridge Historical Society

PUBLICATIONS

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PROCEEDINGS

JANUARY 25 — OCTOBER 25, 1910



The Cambridge Historical Society

PUBLICATIONS

V

PROCEEDINGS

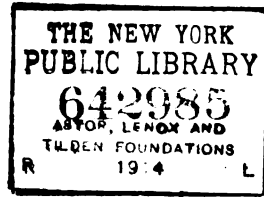
JANUARY 25—OCTOBER 25, 1910



CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

Published by the Society

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Memorials, of procuring the publication and distribution of the same, and generally of promot-
ing interest and research in relation to the history of Cambridge.

NOTICE OF FALL MEETING (Annual Meeting)

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS,

October 14, 1911.

Notice is hereby given that the Annual Meeting of the Cam-
bridge Historical Society will be held Tuesday Evening, October
24, 1911, in Emerson Hall, Room J, Harvard University.

8.00 P. M.—Annual Reports and Election of Officers.

8.20 P. M.—A Sketch of the Life of Mrs. Josiah P. Cooke will be
given by Rev. George Hodges, D. D., Dean of the
Episcopal Theological School.

An Address on "The New Charter for Cambridge: its
History and Meaning" will be given by Professor
Lewis Jerome Johnson, of Harvard University.

[OVER]

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE SEVENTEENTH MEETING

THE SEVENTEENTH MEETING of THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held the twenty-fifth day of January, nineteen hundred and ten, at a quarter before eight o'clock in the evening, in the building of the Cambridge Latin School, Trowbridge Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The President, RICHARD HENRY DANA, presided.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Upon the subject for the meeting WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD read the following paper :

CERTAIN DEFECTS IN THE PUBLICATIONS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

It was with deliberation that I selected my subject for this evening. The virtues of historical societies require no description or catalogue ; it is the fault of the society if they are not apparent and known. Advertising consists in exposing the good points of the article advertised ; and whether it be in the form of a car panel, a bill-board, or a volume of proceedings, the best is intended to be shown. But the defects we are all busy in trying to cover — perhaps to obviate. Having the honor to represent the oldest historical society in this country, the society with the widest experience, it will not be charged that I have no business to lift the edge of the curtain, and expose some of those heaps of rubbish which have

accumulated in a century, and which are too often copied by younger societies in the belief that the dust, cobwebs, and scrap constitute the best part of the society — the cause of its existence and the excuse for its activity. So I propose to speak of the defects — assuming the virtues to be great, numerous, and potent.

1. Have you ever dropped off at a city — a capital of a State — on history bent, to find that the historical society rooms are opened only on rare occasions; but the librarian and key can be found some miles out of the city, and can be reached by driving, no trolley lines running in that direction? This situation becomes more interesting if you are invited in midwinter.

2. Have you ever travelled a hundred miles or more on a Monday, to find that the historical society rooms are open only on Fridays, between the hours of two and four in the afternoon? Any Monday will do.

3. Have you ever taken a night's journey to consult some book or manuscript, to find that the thing desired can be seen only on a card from a member of the society — you being a veritable Ishmael to the place — more so after than before the visit?

4. Have you ever been greeted cordially by the custodian of the society's treasures, but only to be told, on stating generally your wishes, that under the rules you must indicate the particular paper you wish to see? To assist you in this operation there is no catalogue or even a general description of the collection, the custodian knows nothing about manuscripts, and there is no one connected with the society who "does" manuscripts.

5. Have you ever penetrated into the inner rooms of the treasure house, to learn that the card catalogue is not open to the public?

6. Have you ever had the object of your search before you, memorandum pad at your elbow, and pencil in hand, only to be told that no note or notes can be taken without first applying to the board, council or directors of the institution? If it is in early summer, so much the better, as the council holds no meeting till the fall, and by that time you will have forgotten all about your request, and can receive with philosophic calm the negative that comes from the council through the custodian.

7. Have you ever found six or seven letters in a collection, of little or no importance to the collection, but of good value to your

particular purpose, only to be informed that copies cannot be taken, as the society hopes to print the collection? In your heart you know that the society, if it ever does publish, will be forced to make selections out of it, and among the first to be passed over will be the letters you have selected. If you live long enough, you will see that this comes true.

Here are seven mortal sins in the management of historical societies, and I have encountered as many as five of them in a single society and in a single day. In a career of more than twenty-five years I have met them in many forms and disguises, but always as hindrances, discouragements, and personal selfishness. They were applied in the Department of State of the United States as well as in the humblest collection in the land, and invariably originated in that good old comfortable prejudice that the collections were to be treated as the personal possessions of the custodian—to be used or not according to his whim. It was with keen pleasure that I received the aid of my then chief, Mr. Thomas F. Bayard, who had an interest in things historical, in breaking down the restrictions in the Department of State; and it was with as keen pleasure that I had the countenance of my chief in the Library of Congress, Mr. Herbert Putnam, in making a national bureau of archives—free to any historical investigator—without any restrictions or red-tape methods. In securing accessibility to material lies the corrective to nearly every one of the seven mortal sins I have detailed.

But outside of the federal government as represented in the Library of Congress, and a very few institutions which could be named, reigns Cimmerian darkness, more or less impenetrable, according to the charm you carry—a name of weight, a letter of introduction, a personal acquaintance with the custodian. The questions are ever present: what are the true functions of an historical society, and how far does this particular institution fulfill these functions? In nine out of ten cases the defects do not lie in the organization and by-laws, for the organization is practically the same in all, as are the by-laws, which are made to protect against abuse and against destruction. The errors lie at the door of the custodian, whose business it is to enforce or release the by-laws according to circumstance, but to lean on the side of liberality. Even though maintained by private subscriptions, an historical

society has quasi-public functions. Otherwise it becomes a tomb for the final and complete burial of material; and this process of entombing is greatly assisted by a rule which gives the use only to members of the society. I could form a small library of volumes in each one of which could be read the effects of this narrow policy — resulting in incomplete histories through lack of material on the one hand, and in incomplete histories through lack of ability on the other. The parable of the talents applies here with peculiar force. It is only necessary to name such institutions as the Pennsylvania Historical Society or the State Historical Society of Wisconsin to indicate two of the best conducted in the land, advanced, liberal and generous to all; and both have gained by their open-handedness.

For every sin of management there are a dozen sins of use in publishing historical material. It is one thing to collect, and quite another to publish. The necessity for collecting printed matter has been much restricted in recent years by the growth of the public library. The necessary tools of workers and the rare or unusual are proper objects of a collecting society. Yet even here there are limitations. Why, for example, should the Massachusetts Historical Society, or this Society, seek to obtain the rarities of New England history by purchase, when copies are available in the Boston Public, in Harvard University, in the John Carter Brown and in the American Antiquarian Society libraries? These rarities cost from \$50 to \$1000, and no one short of a millionaire can hope to gather even a small number of them in a lifetime of ardent collecting. The Massachusetts Historical Society has directed its means towards publishing, and wisely; for many a society has been burdened with a few very good pieces, buried in eccentrically geographical situations, where they cannot be seen and their very existence is almost unknown; and many a one has been crippled at the outset by this ambition to have and to hold costly rarities. The mere possession and its cost have reduced them to a condition of helplessness in publishing.

Nor is this helplessness an unmixed evil. The older conditions were so restful. Once in three or four years a leading society would issue a volume. It would contain some set addresses, some original documents, and no index. The entire annual output of all historical societies could be counted on the fingers of one hand.

The general run differed but little, — some documentary material, more or less inaccurately transcribed and printed, some reprints of rare issues of the past, some crude facsimiles, more or less misleading, and some chats by members upon subjects of tremendously personal interest, but of no possible value to any one else. The meetings were more of a social gathering, more informal than the conditions of to-day have imposed, less critical of what was presented, and really enjoying intelligently and enthusiastically the novelties as they were offered. And the field of history was much less a cultivated ground than at present. It was all so simple. In meeting the librarian announced that he had another volume of collections ready for the printer. Thereupon the president gracefully responded to the unspoken suggestion, and remarked that he would be happy to pay the cost of printing and distributing the volume. With such a machinery why raise any question as to the contents of the volume, or the manner of presenting the material? The librarian was sole judge of value and form; the president paid the cost. It was a one-man influence. Unconsciously we think not so much of the X Historical Society as of Mr. A. B. C. who pays the bills, who is supposed to have the greatest interest in the welfare of the society, and who is in reality the mainspring of the institution. We look upon him as an historical scholar, even though his interest in history is limited to his own name; he is treated reverentially by his colleagues; he becomes the honorary member of sister societies, the recipient of degrees from his college because of these publications, and so on — a little circle of activity that runs its course mechanically, until the great man passes away, and a new name and individuality takes his place, and by a well-recognized formula deflects the line of direction by a trifle, and announcing progress, asks leave, alas, to sit again.

This personal element favored sitting still, but it also favored defective publications. Editors were few, and gave their time and service voluntarily; they were not trained in historical methods, and their enthusiasm and knowledge could make up for only a part of their weakness. In the United States history as a study is only a matter of some thirty years in age. The older workers in societies had to encourage contributions, essays, and lucubrations upon the infinitesimally small. They were obliged to recognize the

weaknesses of their neighbors as well as of their members by paying too great an attention to personal, family, and local matters. How many of us can afford (to use a bookseller's term) to keep in stock a file of the issues of more than a very few of the many societies printing their material.

The mere mass is appalling, and the attempt has been made to measure it. We have a notably heavy volume, of equally heavy contents, giving a list of the papers printed by the historical societies of the United States. It is not complete, but it is issued upon a scale possible only with the national government. The volume contains a thousand odd closely printed pages, and an index of one third that number of pages. It is as cheerful reading as a cemetery list, and it chiefly marks burials, quite as complete as what is printed by the daily newspapers. Is it possible to trace from this formidable list the trend of such printing activity in historical lines? There could be found the variations I have just noted, periods of great activity and well-directed action alternating with periods of quiescence and perfunctory performance. Here they are, all jumbled together, historical, genealogical, and patriotic societies; one man, one cause, one locality societies; personal, family, and town societies; and all apparently having but one object in view, to print something, regularly or occasionally, once or often. The confusion is the greater when we examine the contents of the publications of a single society. What is the measure of interest, the principle of exclusion (if any), or the standard of judgment? Is there evidence of intelligent selection or careful preparation? Do the younger societies afford any proof of benefiting by the errors of their elders? If the truth were to be told, the saddest mistakes would be discovered in the most recent issues of the youngest societies. All past experience seems to have been for nothing. This tremendous catalogue of historical publications is all a maze, a puzzle; but it is instinctively felt that here may be found a very long chapter of horrible examples, things to be avoided; and with it a very much shorter chapter of things worthy of praise and imitation. The great fault is that the material is not only misleading in itself, but is used in a misleading manner, and often with an intent to mislead. A partial truth is dangerously near a complete lie, and becomes one when framed by interest, whether ignorant

or not. It is amazing to see how much time and ingenuity are expended in pulling down what others have set up, or in strengthening the tottering foundations of a possible tradition, an impossible history. A striking instance is the attempt to trace back to blooded stock on the other side of the water. Let me read a few sentences from one who was not a trained genealogist, but was blessed with sufficient humor to know what a trained genealogist should be.

"Perhaps in this place the history may pause to congratulate itself upon the enormous amount of bravery, wisdom, eloquence, virtue, gentle birth, and true nobility, that appears to have come into England with the Norman Invasion: an amount which the genealogy of every ancient family lends its aid to swell, and which would beyond all question have been found to be just as great, and to the full as prolific in giving birth to long lives of chivalrous descendants, boastful of their origin, even though William the Conqueror had been William the Conquered; a change of circumstances which, it is quite certain, would have made no manner of difference in this respect."¹

Cannot this be read in hundreds of genealogies or local histories?

Another good instance is the attempt to bolster up the so-called Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, peculiarly a local irruption in that county of North Carolina. Not one bit of good evidence has been produced to support the contention of the Declarationers, every historical point is against them. Yet there are a monument, brass plates, and a presidential visit; there are periodic explosions of supposedly new evidence, and much personality and abuse of those who question the tradition. The whole monument rests upon a false foundation—a desire to gain local and family renown; and starting with a possibility, its backers have refused to recognize the cumulative evidence against it, and treat it not as a question of history, but as a plank in a party platform—a good enough Morgan until after election.

It was said in the seventeenth century that a man who went in search of the philosopher's stone and dabbled in alchemy usually ended by being committed to the Gatehouse or prison as a coiner. This course is not confined to alchemy. It is so much easier and more pleasant to make a supposition that will meet the desired

¹ Martin Chuzzlewit, Ch. I.

condition than to dig out the facts and, possibly, find that they will not support your theory.

The tendency of historical writing is to become monographic, the study of a single incident, a short period of time, or an individual in a narrow field of action. The larger part of historical publication lies in printing source material, the documentary evidence in full, with more or less extensive notes. The archivist supplies the essayist with his material, and the essayist offers to the general historian his portion of partially predigested history. There are few who have the means, inclination, and leisure to devote themselves to a great historical writing; but there are many who can turn out a monograph and do it well. The co-operative history is a development of this monographic idea, and the results are seen by comparing such works as those of Bancroft, or Hildreth, or Von Holst with Hart's "American Nation." The personality of the writer is diminished, but in its place we have a wider view, a more consistent plan, and a better arrangement of material.

This points out the proper sphere of activity of an historical society. It would be absurd for one to undertake a general history of the United States; it would be equally absurd for one in Massachusetts to undertake the history of South Dakota or a Mexican State. It would be going too far afield, when there is an abundance of good material lying at our very doors. For the material is abundant, — the more so because the very obvious has, as is not unusual, been passed over. We mourn the absence of reliable economic records, the bare facts which may serve as a basis of a great economic history of a land which has an economic history worthy of study. Have we a good sketch of the manner in which Massachusetts became settled, how and why population took certain lines, and what has been the effect in producing that great outward movement of population to the westward, evidences of which may be seen in nearly every State in the Union outside of the slaveholding States? Have we a good history of a village common, and what it meant then and means now to the cluster of houses of which it was the center? Have we the beginnings of the political history of any town, in its great changes from a few cottages to an important city? Have we a full history of a factory town, with its vital alterations in every part of its economy? Can you name a

satisfactory study of a frontier town, of the settlement of a State or region, or of any one line of development which may serve as a history of many, and give the economic historian a foundation from which to generalize?

Instances can be named of notable studies. There is a gentleman of this city who has made the study of the provincial paper money of Massachusetts his own, and by long, patient, detailed accumulation and treatment of material has given a history invaluable to one who would understand the social experience of the eighteenth century in the American colonies. For the results apply to any colony that experimented with its currency in the hope of being able to cancel a debt without an equivalent. In one of the volumes of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics are to be found tables of prices of commodities from the seventeenth century, taken from merchants' books — dry, fragmentary, and horribly unrelated, yet capable of being interpreted in a manner that will explain many a local revolution, many a migration, and many a social disturbance. That collection of disjointed items is far more valuable to history than the costly and useless compilation of names of those who served from Massachusetts in the War of Independence or in the Civil War. Costly it has been beyond question; useless it will be, as the United States government proposes to issue a similar list for the whole country, and has a force of four hundred compilers against the four or five that the State offers. A part of the same money expended in printing the Council Minutes, or the Journals of the House of Representatives, or the State Archives, would bring in much better and more permanent results.

Local history is not to be despised when the material offers. Salem witchcraft contributed to the world's experience in delusion. Is Harvard University an asset of Cambridge or of the entire country? Is Plymouth a spot on a pink map, or is it by inheritance a conviction, a moral influence? In naming Concord is it a locality that first comes to our minds?

Fortunately here we have some good models of treatment. The town of Quincy, Mass., was not a very promising subject for a history, yet it has in Charles Francis Adams's "Three Episodes of Massachusetts History" a work almost unique. This is not because it is a local history, but because it is sketched on such broad lines as

to be at once a history of the first years of the Bay settlement and the connection of a New England town with the current of the nation's history. It is thus much more than Quincy that is rated; it is the development of a town in certain of its activities, from the first grant until it became a city, and is in its main lines a contribution to the history of the people of any New England settlement. I set aside the fact that the writer possessed an unusual combination of qualities for such a work, — an antiquarian and historical spirit, tempered by a good sense of humor, and a strongly marked critical faculty. We may not agree with him in all his judgments, but it is difficult to question his facts or deny the skill with which he has used them, lifting the unpromising and as a rule forbidding subject of local history on to a plane where it becomes a necessary part of a people's history. The result is a very readable and vitalizing book. It is a great work when brought into comparison with the ordinary run of local histories.

It will be said it presents an exceptional instance, a writer unusual in equipment. True, but the best lessons may be learned from extreme instances. The very success achieved in that case emphasizes the necessity of inviting trained ability for preparing such histories, and just as good ability for editing original or source material. Look at the publications of the Camden or of the Selden Society, and there are found such names as Pollock, Maitland, Gardner, Gairdner, and Gross as editors, names which stand pre-eminent in the studies they made so distinctively their own. They did not consider it beneath their dignity to prepare these often fragmentary records, and by their labors they made the material valuable and accessible. That huge collection of genealogical facts — the publications of the Harleian Society — belongs to a somewhat different category, but stands just as high in its field. It is not the laudation of one or a number of families, but it is a great collection of facts useful and necessary to all kinds of historical writing. The nearest approach in this country to such societies is the Prince Society of Massachusetts, and it is unnecessary to make any comment upon the value to history of its publications.

The fault lies in this, that the work is left or entrusted to those whose general knowledge cannot compensate the defects produced by their enthusiasm. As Clarence King once said of the young,

partially trained, and quite inexperienced geologists coming under his charge, "they are all the time rediscovering America." Certain great facts of history may be assumed with the same certainty as a mathematical axiom,—a date, a place, and an individual. Other so-called facts are subject to continual readjustment, not necessarily because they have become untrue or misleading, but because they are seen in new relations and with altered possibilities. All history is mosaic, a lot of separate and many-colored facts brought together. The resulting picture depends upon the skill and imagination of the writer. He frames the outlines, and arranges his facts. It would be very simple to do this were history a science. We could then compare the writing of history to the figures of the kaleidoscope,—a number of colored beads carelessly thrown into a box, where an arrangement of mirrors produces a series of beautifully correct pictures, and all mechanically. Fortunately history is not a science. We can now view with comparative complacency the attempts to turn saints into sinners and devils into angels. Under skillful hands a Borgia deals out health foods and not poisons, a Medici in France drank milk, not blood, a Nero was a wise administrator sacrificing his own comfort to the good of his people, and a Judas was a public benefactor in that he established a public cemetery. In our own history Benedict Arnold becomes a lovable drunkard, with a somewhat hasty temper; Thomas Paine or Pelatiah Webster challenges the authorship of the Declaration of Independence with Thomas Jefferson; Alexander Hamilton is made a debauchee, that Jefferson (as black to others) may shine; and after twenty years a city erects a monument to the boss whom it drove with curses from its limits. Time takes its revenge, and in the long run brings justice.

This tendency to question history again and again is a wholesome one, and does more good than harm. Contemporary judgments are notoriously harsh, and the charge lies against us as a people that the hero of to-day is the despised of to-morrow. The early history of Massachusetts Bay turned largely upon the clergy,—not that any real question of religious belief was at stake, but the position and consequent power of the clergy were dominant. At the time there was only one opinion, that the safety of the State depended upon the maintenance of this influence of the elders. Those who

questioned their power or decisions were the pariahs of the community, to be hounded out and even killed, — pests to be eliminated. For two centuries this remained the general opinion, and few convictions are so deeply entrenched as inherited convictions. Can you name any clerical writer of Massachusetts history who seriously questioned the attitude of the magistrates and elders in the seventeenth century? Can you name any lay writer who could take a fair-minded view of the leading actors of that century? It required a sort of explosion to awaken this self-satisfied condition. It came in Brooks Adams' "Emancipation of Massachusetts," and since then no one would dare write of the elders as did our fathers or our grandfathers.

To yield the best results the personal or interested element must be eliminated, and the means supplied of questioning from time to time the conceptions of history we have inherited, imbibed from imperfect sources, or accepted because of a weighty name. This is, fortunately, not a question of money. It is hopeless to expect to obtain a profit from the publications of any society, however good they may be. The membership is as a rule small, and buying libraries are few. Just as good work was done in the early days of the older societies, when their funds were extremely limited, as later, when they began to use adequate publishing funds. Nor is the chance of profit increased by multiplying the publications — reprints of rare pamphlets, first printing of manuscript collections, proceedings of meetings, or quarterly magazines. The proceedings and magazines must be more or less scrappy, consisting of unrelated parts and of such documents as cannot be made into a connected series. It is less expensive in the long run to issue a volume of good material than to issue many of scraps. The labor of consulting the magazines is already a burden, as the consolidated index is an almost unknown factor. One half of what has been published by societies could be wiped out without much loss to history; one half of what remained could be presented in a form very different from that in which it exists, and with great advantage to the student; and one half of that part could be so condensed as to offer a series of volumes, by no means occupying as much as five feet of shelving, in which could be found all of the essentials of New England history — and more too.

So I come to what I should regard as the proper field of historical societies — to present under careful direction the great wealth of raw material that is at hand, but under limitations presently to be named.

There is a volume in the publications of the American Antiquarian Society called *Thomas Lechford's Note Book* — the work of a lawyer-trained bird of passage who was in Boston for a short term, less than four years. It is a collection of dry, formal documents in the law language of the day, with a few, a very few, letters and memoranda interspersed. Not at all a book to read, but one capable of affording much to the student. The description of a lot of land, the form of a lease, a contract for the hire or building of a fishing boat, — it is on its face of little importance. Yet we get the dimensions of a fishing boat of that time, and the pinnacle, the shallop, and the pink played an important part in extending the sphere of Massachusetts influence. We get light upon the religious controversies of the day, and more than that we get the side-lights which often prove to be the best of illuminations. The sales of land by the Hutchinsons after Ann Hutchinson had been formally handed to the Devil and driven from Boston, are pathetic evidence of the extent to which the rancor of hate was carried. There is no collection of colonial material equal in historical interest to the Winthrop Papers, — a veritable mine to one who approaches that period of our history. To come home, the two volumes of records published by the city offer a rich mine to be worked by many.¹

In the earliest volumes of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society will be found a series of sketches of different towns and counties. The sketches are very brief, imperfect, and unscientific, yet made by a person competent to gather information of such a character as to give the matter a permanent value. The Cape Cod region was undertaken by James Freeman.² The sub-

¹ I refer to the "Proprietors' Records" (1896) and "The Records of the Town of Cambridge" (1901), two excellent examples of a good publication of source material.

² Rev. James Freeman, D.D. (1759-1835), wrote sketches of the Cape Cod towns in the early volumes of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Rev. Frederick Freeman (1800-1883), Presbyterian, afterwards Episcopal minister, was author of "the two weighty volumes of the History of Cape Cod" (Boston, 1860-1864).

jects treated were those given in a fair gazetteer, but in a more full manner, with an attempt to sketch the history of the locality. It is surprising to see how much those descriptions are still used, and how serviceable they have proved in recording what so rapidly passes from the memory, or becomes distorted by oral testimony from one generation to another. They offer a further interest in this, that the most modern effort in local history — I refer to the *Victoria History of the Counties of England*, now in process of publication — pursues the same method, but on a much larger and more scientific scale. Look at the first volume of the history of Nottinghamshire. The chapter headings are natural history, which includes geology, palæontology, botany, and zoology. Then follow sections on early man, Anglo-Saxon remains, the county in Domesday, ancient earthworks, and political history. This completes the first volume. There yet remain to be treated, in three other volumes, the subjects of architecture, ecclesiastical history, topographical accounts of parishes and manors, agriculture, the social and economic history, — schools, arts, industries, and commerce, — and finally ancient and modern sports.

There is a suggestion for ourselves in this definite purpose and method. We have no ancient ruins, but we have a choice assortment of modern remains; we have little older than a century and a half, but that period is more than enough to make history. We have a social organism before us that is ever changing, and yet leaving little to remind us of its past history; and we have a machinery of government, also ever changing, yet retaining a full record of its accomplishments and as full a record of its legal actions. Or, to pass to more local matters:

The panoramic changes in a city or town are always interesting, but rarely recorded. The newspaper and magazine can never give what we want, for they select on narrow lines and leave aside what are the most important features. The rarity of early views of Boston — or indeed of any city — is a cause for regret. There is an early sketch of Tremont Street along the Common, and it looks an impossibility. Equally unreliable is the appearance of the same street in the early days of photography. Its aspect as we know it will in less than fifty years be so changed that our great-grandchildren will scoff at the pictures of to-day. So many of the village

houses having historic associations or architectural features have passed away that the one is drawn from the memories of the oldest living and the other is studied by architects in stately volumes, giving every detail of frame and fittings. Is there any excuse for permitting the memory of a street or house to pass away with the absurdly cheap appliances of the modern time? With a Kodak, and the picture is capable of any enlargement, a whole street can be taken at a very small expense and the films stored for future reference; and this offers what no city survey or fire insurance map can give,—houses, trees, and relations of objects to one another. Once in ten years such a survey could be made, and would yield a most eloquent picture of the changes in localities and point to the social changes that have accompanied them. There is no limit to such a record.

Thus there can be, and I believe there will be, differentiation in the activities of historical societies. The real effect of military and patriotic societies upon the writing of history is yet to be measured; but there is a growing belief that such societies are doing greater harm than good. For they dwell upon only one item of interest, and unduly magnify its importance. There is the same tendency to be found in local or family history,—the oldest building, the oldest inhabitant, the leading family, the town traditions,—material good enough in itself, but needing judicious treatment to be made sufferable beyond a very small circle. It is generally left to the tender mercies of the profligate imagination of the genealogist, and the results are deplorable. The true historical society must be raised out of this round of petty subjects treated in a petty manner, and I admit this is a most difficult problem to be met. The true solution lies in closer co-operation among the societies. In the Western States the State founds and supports an historical society. The plan has its disadvantages, but it does offer this distinct advantage. As local societies are formed, the State society can exercise an advisory power, a control more or less effective, and in consultation divide the territory to be covered. A development upon this line is a possibility of the future and deserves careful consideration. As it is with us, the river overflows its banks and moves sluggishly over vast shallows. Confine it to its proper course and some use can be made of its motive force. This would

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permit also a distribution of publishing activity, the general being reserved for the leading or central, the local for the local society. In this State such a graded series would be of advantage, and would at least prevent duplication of publication and the appearance in an occasional and very remote issue of material of really national importance. Organization and co-operation, mutual service, and a trained responsible editor will go far to remove the reproach so often uttered against the publications of our historical societies.

At the conclusion of the above paper, and as a result of questions asked by the President and others, Mr. Ford expressed the opinion that it would be of great advantage if the historical societies of the different States would supply a central society with lists of their original documents.

The meeting was then dissolved.

THE EIGHTEENTH MEETING

THE EIGHTEENTH MEETING of THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held the twenty-sixth day of April, nineteen hundred and ten, at a quarter before eight o'clock in the evening, in the building of the Cambridge Latin School, Trowbridge Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The President, RICHARD HENRY DANA, presided.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

For the first topic of the meeting ELIZABETH ELLERY DANA read the following paper :

LIEUTENANT JAMES DANA AT THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL

AMONG the men from Connecticut who marched to Cambridge for the relief of Boston, early in June, 1775, was a lieutenant in General Israel Putnam's regiment, to whom it must have seemed almost like coming home, for his father was a Cambridge boy, born and brought up here. The father had removed early to Windham County, Connecticut, settling first in Pomfret and then in Ashford. The son was one of the one hundred and twenty picked men from that county who, on the night of June 16, went under Captain Thomas Knowlton to Bunker Hill, worked hard all night, and fought next day at the famous rail fence. This man was James Dana,¹ great-grandson of the Richard Dana who settled in Cambridge soon after 1640.

Professor Edward Channing, in his "The United States of America, 1765-1865," tells us that "though the younger men among the colonists knew little of actual warfare, yet everywhere there were veterans of the French wars, who soon infused a knowledge of

¹ James 4 (Jedidiah 3, Benjamin 2, Richard 1,) Dana was born at Ashford, Connecticut, Oct. 9, 1735.

military methods into the masses of raw recruits." James Dana was one of these veterans. He had begun his military career in early youth, among the provincial troops under Sir William Johnson, twenty years before the Revolution. He had assisted in building Fort William Henry, at Lake George, in 1755, and was at Crown Point when Johnson was severely wounded and Baron Dieskau defeated and killed. After this Dana had returned home, had married and settled in Mansfield, Connecticut, which, like his birthplace, Ashford, was in Windham County.¹

A large part of Windham County, which borders on our Worcester County, was originally included in Massachusetts and was settled by Massachusetts men, and many were the disputes between the Colonies over the boundary line. In 1686 twelve men from Roxbury bought land in Windham County, but it was not until eight years afterwards, in 1694, that surveys having been made, the shares were delivered to the proprietors. By this time the rights of one of them, John Pierpont, had been bought out by three Cambridge brothers, Jacob, Benjamin, and Daniel Dana, none of whom went to Connecticut in person, but some of their sons removed there and settled in different towns in Windham County. These settlements were included in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, so that all their land deeds had to be recorded, and wills probated, in Boston, where, strange to say, they still remain.

Windham County had begun very early to show its patriotic zeal, and claims the honor of originating the system of Committees of Correspondence which proved so effective in promoting the Revolution, and which has been ascribed to Samuel Adams and other notable persons.² As early as December, 1767, at a full meeting of the inhabitants of Windham Town to consider a letter from the Selectmen of Boston, a committee was appointed to correspond with committees from the several towns in the county.

In the summer of 1774 many of these towns had shown their enthusiasm by sending flocks of fine sheep as presents to Boston. The first of these was apparently the first gift to arrive there,

¹ Mansfield is now in Tolland County.

² Samuel Adams laid his plan before a Boston town-meeting in 1772. Mercy Warren makes the claim that her husband had suggested it before that. But in Windham County towns it had already been in force for some years.

and these expressions of sympathy were very cheering and comforting to our people. Windham County, though of the same Connecticut Freemen whom Chief Justice Marshall calls "that cautious people," was full of martial fire, and Israel Putnam and bodies of men from all its towns had set out the September before for Boston, but had turned back on learning that their assistance was not yet needed. A convention of delegates from Windham and New London Counties was held at once and recommended that the selectmen should supply every town with ammunition and military stores, and that every troop and military company should arm and equip themselves as soon as possible and should have regimental reviews and artillery exercises. In October the General Assembly enacted that the quantity of ammunition required to be provided should be doubled, and that every military company should be called and exercised in the use of arms twelve half-days between then and May, and new regiments were formed. And the farmers knew what they were fighting for, for at this time, when money was so scarce and books so rarely purchased, more than one hundred and twenty copies of John Carter's "English Liberties, or the Free-born Subjects' Inheritance," were ordered, from Windham County alone.

When the actual breaking out of the Revolution came, James Dana was a volunteer — not this time from the enthusiasm of youth or love of adventure, for he was now about forty years old, a married man with a family of children — and his name is on the Connecticut list of men who marched on the Lexington alarm. The authorized "Record of Services of Connecticut Men in the War of the Revolution" says: "The response [of Connecticut] to the alarm was not the official action of the Colony, nor, on the other hand, an impromptu movement of individuals without previous organization. An 'uprising' of armed men might have partaken of a mob character, and the militia regiments as such could only be called out by the governor or legislature. It was rather a movement of the townsmen marching under their militia organizations. The gathering thus became orderly as well as spontaneous. It appears from the records that in some cases the companies or train-bands collected and marched off under their officers without further orders; in other cases, the colonels, taking the lead, called

out a certain number of men . . . ; in a few cases volunteer companies were organized for the special service; in addition, many individuals, not belonging to the militia, joined in the march, either providing for themselves or going with the companies."

At ten o'clock on the morning of that fateful Wednesday, April 19, 1775, a post had been despatched by the Committee of Safety at Watertown, the bearer, Israel Bissel, being charged to alarm the people as far as the Connecticut line "that the British have landed two brigades, have already killed six men and wounded four others, and are on their way into the country. All persons are desired to furnish him with horses as they may be needed." A copy of this despatch was forwarded by the town clerk of Worcester to Daniel Tyler, Jr. (son-in-law of Israel Putnam), at Brooklyn, Connecticut, who received it at eight o'clock Thursday morning and sent it on to Norwich, while messengers on horseback, with beating drums, carried the news in all directions about Windham County. Friday was spent in active preparation. Officers rode rapidly about in every direction with warnings, bullets were run, accoutrements and rations provided, and powder furnished to the volunteers. Over a thousand men from Windham County were ready to meet the summons. The Committee of Correspondence wrote: "The ardour of our people is such that they can't be kept back."

Early on Saturday, April 22, Lieutenant-Colonel Experience Storrs, of Dana's town of Mansfield, led "sundry of ye troop" to Windham Green, where selected companies from Mansfield and two other towns were already on the ground ready to march. After prayers in the meeting-house, it was nearly sunset before they set out for Pomfret. On Sunday the officers found themselves much embarrassed by the numbers that presented themselves, and after prayer by Rev. Mr. Putnam, they held a council and agreed to select one fifth of the men out of the ten companies, the rest to return home. Meanwhile, a letter had been received from Concord, from General Putnam, saying that the Committee of the Provincial Congress begged "they would be at Cambridge as speedily as possible with Conveniences, together with provisions, and a Sufficiency of Ammunition." "The elect fifth, selected probably in consideration of their special fitness for military service, set out on the march at about 5 P. M." on Sunday, through Woodstock and

Dudley for Cambridge. "Their orderly and soldierly bearing attracted great attention on their march, and they were received at Cambridge with special distinction, as the first trained companies that had come from abroad to the aid of Massachusetts." Fortunately this section of the country was favored in the way of public roads, a new route to Boston having been established only the year before, and taverns were numerous on every road, many new ones having been opened.

After twenty-seven days' service as private, Dana at once on his return enlisted again, this time as first lieutenant in Putnam's regiment, the Third Connecticut, in Lieutenant-Colonel Storrs's company. His commission as lieutenant is dated May 1, 1775. Many of those who had been on to Cambridge had no time even to visit their families before starting off again. If he was one of these, it may have been just as well, for his wife, Elizabeth Whittemore, who is said to have been a handsome, blue-eyed little woman, was a British sympathizer and much opposed to his going into the army. Lieutenant-Colonel Storrs, who, as I have said, was from Dana's town of Mansfield, had been devoting himself with energy to enlisting men, impressing blankets and arms, and securing and storing a quantity of powder for Mansfield. Storrs kept a diary, in which after describing the second march to Cambridge, by way of Ashford, Dudley, Westboro, and Framingham, when his men appeared to be in high spirits, he says that he left the companies in Waltham for the night (June 2) under the care of Lieutenant Gray; and adds: "Proceeded with Lieut. Dana to Cambridge, at Col. Lee's house, where we expected to have tarried; found 3 companies." Apparently there was no room for them, for he continues: "Went to headquarters¹ to Gen. Putnam, he came with us to our proposed quarters, looked for accommodations for my companies. Conclude to march in tomorrow. Came out to Watertown with Lieut. Dana; tarried there. 8d. Towards noon, the companies arrived [from Waltham]. Sat off with them to Cambridge; met Gen. Putnam on the road. Came to the house of Mr. Fairweather,² where we make our quar-

¹ Not the Inman house, as is often stated, but the Apthorp-Borland house familiarly called "the Bishop's Palace."

² The Wells-Newell house, No. 175 Brattle Street, where years after, James Russell Lowell, William W. Story, Richard H. Dana, Jr., and Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson went to school.

ters; after dinner went up to headquarters to shew ourselves to the General; he recommends our being immediately provided for action. . . . 8. Mr. Fairweather came home last night out of humor as they tell me. No wonder, his house filled up with soldiers, and perhaps his interest suffers as it really must. Sent for me, yet appears to act the part of a gentleman. . . . 9. Went to Gen. Putnam to make return of my companies to draw soap, beer, &c., out of the Connecticut store; he declines coming to a settlement about it. My company uneasy for want of beer, and soap for washing. . . . 16. Expecting an engagement soon, P.M. Orders came for drafting 31 men from my company, and the same from all companies belonging to Connecticut. Sent off Lieut. Dana,¹ Sergt. Fuller, Corporal Webb and 28 privates. Who at 8 o'clock went down to Bunker's Hill together, with a large detachment of the troops of this province, where they flung up an entrenchment." A stone tablet at the side of the Harvard Gymnasium marks the place where they assembled, for prayers by President Langdon of Harvard, before starting. These one hundred and twenty men from Israel Putnam's regiment, under the command of Captain Knowlton, with thirty-one other Connecticut men quartered in Christ Church, which had then been erected about fourteen years, were the first to strike the spade into the ground for the redoubt.

After toiling unceasingly all night, Captain Knowlton and his men, at nine in the morning, exhausted from hunger, fatigue, and want of sleep, were ordered to take possession of the unguarded pass, where a low stone wall and the famous post-and-rail fence already stood. It is discouraging and yet interesting to see how the accounts of the battle vary and how little one can trust to tradition. In the case of Lieutenant Dana, it is the aim of this paper not to state anything as a *fact* that is not pretty well proved. The "History of Windham County" gives several anecdotes of the men from there, among them, of course, the familiar one of its hero, General Putnam, calling out as he rode past, "Boys, do you remember my orders at Ticonderoga?" "You told us not to fire

¹ In an account of the battle given in Heath's Memoirs and elsewhere, the four officers under Knowlton are stated to have been John Keyes, Thomas Grosvenor, Esquire Hills, and, perhaps, Huntington. It is now established beyond a doubt that the fourth was James Dana. Hill's first name should be Squier.

until we could see the whites of the enemy's eyes." "Well, I give the same order now." And it adds, as does another local history, that Dana, who was second in command of the detachment, was posted in the centre of the rail fence and that an order was given "death to any man who fired before Capt. [Lieut.?] Dana." "Tough old 'Bijah Fuller, Dana's orderly sergeant," is said to have helped Gridley draw the lines of the fortification. His captain, Knowlton, with coat off, walked to and fro before the unique breast-work, cheering his men and discharging his own faithful musket till it was bent double by a cannon ball. Dana was the first to detect and give notice of the enemy's flank movement and is said to have been the first to fire. Of this, Captain John Chester, in command of the Wethersfield Company quartered in Christ Church, writes, June 22: "The men that went to intrenching over night were in the warmest of the battle and by all accounts they fought most manfully. They got hardened to the noise of the cannon . . . they tarried and fought till the retreat." "Lieut. Dana tells me he was the first man that fired and that he did it singly and with a view to draw the enemy's fire and he obtained his end fully, without any danger to our party."

One statement made is that on Lieutenants Dana and Grosvenor and Sergeant Fuller firing at a given signal, the head of the advancing British column, supposed to be Major Pitcairn, fell. I believe it has been proved that he was killed by a negro soldier, Peter Salem, but Hudson's article in defence of Pitcairn says that he was wounded twice, the first time at the head of his column. Both accounts therefore may be true. During the battle, a cannon shot struck the fence and forced a rail against Dana's breast, but he regained his feet and kept his ground until the line was ordered off, when he drew off his men and aided in covering the retreat, but on arriving at his quarters, he was confined to his room and unable to dress or undress himself for several days. Knowlton's men had double the number of cartridges of the other troops, having brought them from Connecticut. They were the last to leave the conflict and, retiring slowly, formed the rear-guard of the Americans in the retreat, during which a bullet lodged in Dana's canteen.

Holmes's "Annals of America" says: "The conduct of the Connecticut troops under Knowlton was much applauded." And

Judge Prescott wrote what he had heard from his father, Colonel Prescott: "Never were men in a worse condition for action—exhausted by watching, fatigue and hunger, and never did old soldiers behave better." Frothingham's "Siege of Boston" says: "The conduct of the Connecticut troops is mentioned in terms of high commendation in the private letters and journals of the time. Major Durkee, Captains Knowlton, Chester, and Coit, Lieutenants Dana, Hide, Grosvenor, Webb, Bingham, and Keyes are specially named as deserving of credit." Simms's "History of Schoharie County" (N. Y.) states that Washington on his arrival was so struck with these accounts that in his first general order he gave out the countersign as "Knowlton" and parole "Dana." I have examined the orders all through July and do not find exactly that, but I do find that before Washington's arrival, in general orders for June 27, given out, I take it, by General Ward, the countersign was "Prescott" and parole "Dana," and on June 20 the countersign was "Windham." Knowlton and Dana were rewarded by promotion as soon as it was practicable, Knowlton being commissioned major and presented by a Boston admirer with a gold-laced hat, a sash, and gold breastplate, the latter still in the possession of his descendants, and Dana being commissioned captain the next September. It is related that with his usual diffidence he had at first refused promotion.

On the 18th of July there was a patriotic demonstration, on the occasion of the reading of the manifesto issued by Congress setting forth the reasons for taking up arms, and General Putnam's division was paraded in full force at Prospect Hill, the Declaration of Congress read, and a solemn and pathetic address made to the soldiers by Rev. Abiel Leonard, Chaplain to Dana's regiment, succeeded by a prayer. Then on a signal from General Putnam, the soldiers gave three cheers as an Amen, followed by the firing of a cannon from the fort, and the standard sent by Connecticut to General Putnam was exhibited. I quote now from the "History of Windham County": "Capt. Dana was ordered to receive and display the flag, but warned that in so doing he must not let the colors fall, as that would be deemed ominous of the fall of America. The great six-foot captain, who could face a hostile army without flinching, shrank like a child from this display and fain would

have declined the honor, but Putnam cheered him on by a friendly clap on the shoulder and 'Cuth it, Dana! You look like a white man; take the colors and clear away;' whereupon Capt. Dana advanced and received the colors from Washington's aid and carried it three times around the interior circle of the parade amid the rapturous applause of the delighted soldiers. It was one of six flags ordered by Connecticut for her first six regiments. The ground of this was scarlet. 'An Appeal to Heaven' [then the motto of Massachusetts] was inscribed in golden letters on one side; Connecticut's armorial seal upon the other — three detached vines and the trustful legend, '*Qui transtulit sustinet.*'"

In July Dana's regiment was adopted as Continental. It was stationed, during the siege, in Putnam's Centre Division at Cambridge, till the expiration of its term of service in December. The long period of inaction was a sore trial to the Connecticut soldiers. Bad fare, scant pay, misapprehension of their leaders' plans and of the true state of affairs so exasperated them, that many declined re-enlistment, subjecting Washington and his associates to most serious anxiety and peril. Even men in the Windham County regiment were infected with this spirit and some of them marched off home when their time had expired, without waiting for a formal discharge, but a majority of the regiment remained, and Dana, who was discharged December 16, at once re-entered the service and was here in Colonel John Douglas's regiment till March, when the seat of war was transferred to New York. During this time of inaction he must have had opportunities to meet his Massachusetts relatives, many of whom were living in Cambridge and Brookline. One of these, Lucy Dana, his first cousin, married, the next year, Jonas White of Watertown, and was the grandmother of Maria White, the lovely and talented poetess, wife of James Russell Lowell. But Francis Dana,¹ his second cousin (for whom Dana Hill and Dana Street are named), had gone to England to ascertain the state of feeling and the probable measures of the British Government, and so cannot have met him. Though Garden Street was not then laid out, James Dana must often have passed the old burial ground and seen the graves of his grandfather, Benjamin Dana, his uncles and

¹ Afterwards delegate to Congress, Minister to Russia, and Chief-Justice of Massachusetts.

other relatives. The gravestone of this Benjamin Dana, who was born in 1660, is still in good condition, near the street and just half-way between the "Sentinel and the Nun."

On the 9th of January, on which day the countersign was "Charlestown" and parole "Knowlton," Washington expressed his thanks to Knowlton and the officers and soldiers under his command for their spirit, conduct, and resolution on the occasion of the burning of the houses near the enemy's works on Bunker Hill the day before. We may hope Dana was one of these, but we have no proof of it. We next hear of him in Colonel Andrew Ward's First Connecticut Regiment, from May, 1776, to May, 1777, which joined Washington's army at New York and was stationed, at first, near Fort Lee. Marching to White Plains and afterward into New Jersey, it took part in the battles of Trenton, December 26, 1776, and of Princeton, January 8, 1777, and encamped with Washington at Morristown till May. In June he was recommissioned captain, and heads the list in Colonel John Ely's Connecticut State Regiment. He and his brother, William Dana, were at Valley Forge through that terrible winter of 1777-1778. He spent his own money in the care of his men and his is said to have been the only company there that had shoes. On one occasion, when they were encamped in the woods and he was looking for wood or game, he heard a voice and found that it was Washington praying for the soldiers and the patriot cause. At another time he is said to have saved Washington from capture, when or where is not stated. He was out reconnoitring, and, going up a hill through a wood, came to a bend in the road, where he descried some British soldiers coming towards him on horseback. He turned his horse and dashed down the hill, the British after him. As he was flying for his life, he met Washington riding towards the enemy; he shouted a warning to Washington, who thereupon galloped back to headquarters. But for this Washington might have become a prisoner to Sir Henry Clinton.¹

In 1781 Dana had a company in Brigadier General Waterbury's State Brigade, which was raised that March for the defence of the Connecticut seacoast, and in July joined Washington at Phillipsburg near Dobbs Ferry, and for some time after was under Heath

¹ J. R. Simms: History of Schoharie County, N. Y.

on the Westchester line. While here, the celebrated William Eaton, also from Windham County (who afterwards distinguished himself in the war with Tripoli and became a general), having run away from home at the age of sixteen to join the army, his father prevailed upon Captain Dana to take the boy as his servant, and under him he learned the art of war, which he used to so much advantage later. Apparently Dana was at home again after this, perhaps on a furlough, and in September of that year on hearing of the attack on New London by the traitor Benedict Arnold, he saddled his roan mare and hurried off to the fight.

A family tradition is that at the disbanding of the army in 1783 Dana was again appointed, this time by Washington himself (probably at Newburgh, New York) to carry the flag at the celebration. A particularly fine white horse was provided, seventeen and a half hands high, and a complete new outfit. Captain Dana was six feet one inch in height, well proportioned, and with black hair and eyes; and, though retiring in manners, he was of commanding appearance and of great strength and endurance. He is said to have held the flag throughout the day, without allowing it to droop or waver, and with no food or drink to sustain him. When he returned, Washington presented him with the horse and accoutrements and flag, and in his orders next day expressed approbation of his conduct. The descendants have a statement made by one of his granddaughters that when a child she had not only seen them all, but had been permitted to ride the horse. As this could not have been before 1815, it must have been a wonderful horse,—thirty-six years old at least! Still, horses have been known to reach that age and even forty.

Dana is spoken of in the local histories as a popular leader and as having served through the war, distinguishing himself in the different campaigns and performing gallant exploits. He retired as brevet-major and afterwards the title of Brigadier General of Militia was conferred on him by the Governor of New York State, where he settled.

Many Connecticut families had emigrated to Vermont, New York, and Ohio, and Dana decided to make himself a home at Cobleskill, Schoharie County, New York. As we know, the Government was very slow in paying the army, and when he was

finally paid, it was in Continental money, which was absolutely worthless. It was given him in two grain bags, from which he emptied the money on the floor, keeping the bags as the only things of value. He was followed to Cobleskill by several of his men, among them the William Eaton of Tripoli fame. Another settler was Captain Redington, who had also fought under Washington and had endured terrible sufferings in the British prison in New York, the Sugar House.

Dana built a log house two miles from the village of Cobleskill in a part now called Lawyerville, and was soon joined by his wife and children. Here he lived, highly esteemed by the community, until his death, October 16, 1817, at the age of eighty-two. General Dana and Captain Redington lie within a few feet of each other, in the quiet cemetery just behind the church at Lawyerville.

A great-granddaughter, Almeda Anthony, now Mrs. Snyder, has sent some relics of her ancestor, General Dana, to be presented to the Cambridge Historical Society—a silver knee buckle and a little green flask, both used by him in the Revolution.

For the second topic of the meeting JOHN ALBERT HOLMES read the following paper:

THE ANCIENT FISH WEIR ON MENOTOMY RIVER

FISH and the fisheries on the coasts of Newfoundland and New England played a very important part in the founding of the plantations about Massachusetts Bay, and were the purpose for which a large part of the funds of the Massachusetts Bay Company was adventured. Thus it very naturally came about that the General Court of the Colony should control the taking of fish in its waters, both in the rivers and the sea.

The Pilgrims came to Plymouth indentured to certain English merchants, who, interested in the fisheries here, had furnished the funds which enabled the Pilgrims to make the voyage, and true to their agreement they engaged at once in fishing.

How important and even vital to the very existence of the Plymouth Colony in its first years were the fish, is told by Sabin, who

says, "In 1628, without relief from abroad they were reduced to a single boat"; "and that," writes Hubbard, "none of the best," yet "it was the principal support of their lives," for "it helped them to improve the net wherewith they took a multitude of bass, which was their livelihood all that year." "Few countries," Hubbard continues, "have this advantage. Sometimes fifteen hundred of them have been stopped in a creek, and taken in a tide." "Such," says Sabin, "were their resources to prevent absolute starvation, and as they spread a part of the fish they caught upon their corn lands as manure, they were compelled to watch their fields at night, during seed time, to preserve them from the depredations of wolves."

The fish cured and exported the following years were taken principally from the sea, but there was another branch of the industry fully as important, and this was the taking of shad and alewives in the smaller rivers and streams for fertilizing the planting grounds.

Squanto taught the men of Plymouth to "fish" their corn, pumpkins, squash, and beans, that is, to place a fish in the ground with the seed. He also instructed them in the manner of taking fish.

Winslow writes: "We set the last Spring — 1621 — some twenty acres of Indian corn and sowed some six acres of barley and pease, and, according to the manner of the Indians, we manured our grounds with Herrings, or rather, shads, which we have in great abundance and take with great ease at our doors," meaning the "Town Brook" at Plymouth, this being the first summer in the Colony.

The alewife¹ or "aloof" was the fish used principally for this purpose. "The Alewife," quoting Josselyn, "is like a herring, but has a bigger belly, therefore called an alewife."

Webster says: "The alewife is a North American fish of the herring family, and the name is properly 'aloof,' the Indian name of

¹ Alewife; Branch Herring. *Pomolobus pseudo harengus* (Wilson). This is known also as wall-eyed herring, big-eyed herring, spring herring, blear-eyed herring, ellywife, gaspereau, and doubtless by many other names. It is found on our Atlantic coast from the Carolinas northward, and is very abundant. It enters fresh water streams to spawn and the run usually precedes that of the shad by two or three weeks.

a fish. It is also called ellwif, ellwhop, and branch herring." Webster's definition of "Alewife" is "a woman who keeps an alehouse." The "Century Dictionary" says: "A particular use of alewife, probably in allusion to their corpulent appearance; the form 'aloof,' as recorded in 1678, is said to be the Indian name of the fish, but is probably an error for alewife." But, as it is an American fish, the Indians doubtless had a name for it, and "aloof" is correct.

In Wood's "New England Prospect" (1629-1634), we find the following: "Alewives be a kind of fish which is much like a Herring, which in the latter end of Aprill come up to the fresh Rivers to spawn in such multitudes as is allmost incredible, pressing up in such shallow waters as will scarce permit them to swimme"; and in Johnson's "Wonder Working Providence": "But the Lord is pleased to provide for them (the colonists) great store of fish in the spring time and especially Alewives about the bigness of a Herring, many thousands of them, they used to put under their Indian corn which they plant in hills five foot asunder."

Thomas Morton, he of the scandalous doings at Merry-Mount, tells of the methods and results of "fishing" the corn. "You may see in one township a hundred acres together set with these fish, every acre taking 1000 of them; and an acre thus dressed will produce and yeald so much corne as three acres without fish."

Palfrey says that the Indian method was to cover the fish over in the hill with the seed, and that the fish were taken by the Indians "with lines and nets, the cordage of which was made of twisted fibres of the dogbane or of sinews of the deer." They also took them in baskets and in nets like a pursnet put upon a round, hooped stick with a handle, and also in weirs.

The Indians' weirs for taking salmon, says Temple, in his "History of Palmer, Mass.," writing before 1889, "were simply rude stone walls built from opposite sides of the river, pointing down stream, till they nearly met each other. At this narrow opening a large cage was placed formed of twigs fastened to hoops by strips of tough bark."

"The existence of such weirs in Ware River was a matter of personal knowledge to men living 20 years ago." It was from these weirs that the river and town of Ware, in Massachusetts, derive their name.

The taking of land fish, that is, fish taken without the aid of boats, was from the first controlled by the General Court, as "The Ware att Misticke, granted to Governor Winthrop and Mathew Cradocke of London," March 4, 1633-1634, and "Att a Genrall Court holden att Newe Towne, Sept. 3, 1634." "There is leave granted to the inhabitants of Newe Towne to builde a weire vpon any place of Winotimies Ryver, within their owne bounds." The business was further controlled, when in the General Court "It was ordered that all weers shall be set open from the last day of the weeke at noon till the second day in the morning" (Saturday noon till Monday morning), June 6, 1639.

The weir granted to Winthrop and Cradocke in 1634 was at the outlet of Mystic Lake, where High Street, Medford, crosses Mystic River at what is known as Weir Bridge.

Israel Stoughton was granted the privilege of building a weir in Neponset River. He was to sell the alewives at five shillings the thousand.

A weir was built at Roxbury without consent of the court, as was pointed out by Winthrop in his controversy with Deputy Governor Dudley, regarding the permission by Winthrop to the inhabitants of Watertown to construct a weir upon Charles River.

Winthrop's reply is interesting as showing the necessity which they were under to secure fish for their corn. The Governor answered: "The people of Watertown, falling very short of corn the last year for want of fish, did complain, etc. and desired leave to erect a wear, and upon this the Gov. told them that he could not give them leave, but they must seek it of the court; but because it would be long before the courts began again, and if they deferred till then, the season would be lost, he wished them to do it, and there was no doubt but being for so general a good the court would allow of it."

In the foregoing I have endeavored to show somewhat the extent and importance of the alewife fisheries to the agriculture of the colonists.

To bring the matter nearer home, we may turn to the Cambridge "Town Records," where we find that Newe Towne soon took advantage of the privilege granted by the General Court, and on March 1, 1635, "agreed with John Clark to make a sufficient Weir to

Catch Alwiffs vppon Menotomies River in the bounds of this Town before the 12th of Aprell next, and shall sell and delliver vnto Inhabetants of the Towne and noe other, exsept for bayte, all the Aylwifs he shall take at iiis vi^d pr thousand." On April 4, 1636, it was ordered by the town "That Walter Nichols shall pull vpp the boarded weire in menotemis Riuer," and "Andrew Warner and Joseph Cooke" were ordered "to make a rate for the deuision of the Aylwifs." Whether this order to pull up the weir was in anticipation of the order of the General Court, June 6, 1639, to set open the weirs from Saturday noon till Monday morning, to allow the fish to pass, or for its entire removal, is not plain, but probably the former, for on April 23, 1636, Andrew Warner was "Apointed to see A cartway made to the weire."

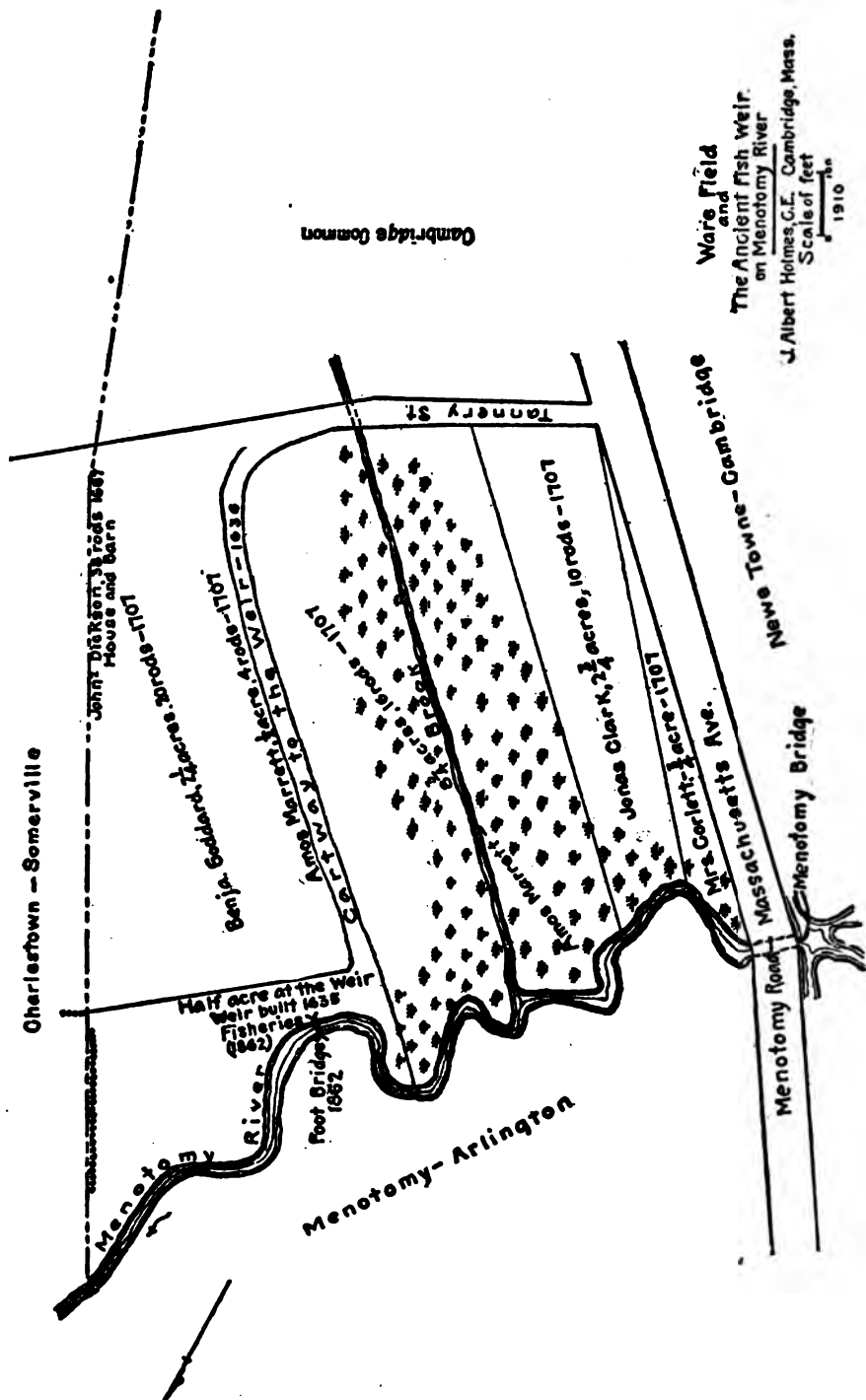
It was also agreed with him to fetch home the alewives from the weir for which he was to receive sixteen pence per thousand. Not all the fish were put upon the land. John Clark was required to furnish of the first run what fish the townsmen desired for eating at two pence per score.

Town legislation regarding dogs was made necessary, because of the practice of fishing the corn. The owner whose dog was found in a corn field digging up fish was fined, and if he did not pay, the dog might be shot.

It would be interesting to know how the "boarded weire" was constructed. It is the practice at present in taking alewives to impound them in a shallow pool, from which they are removed with scoop nets. The barrier is formed of boards built up to a height of a foot or eighteen inches, over which the fish pass to the pool, and from which they will not return till they have cast their spawn. This construction is a true weir according to definition.

During the last years of taking alewives along Menotomy River, seines were used, and the fish sold in Boston for bait for cod fishing.

As evidence that there was land in addition to the cartway reserved early at the weir, it was agreed on the "20th of the 9th month," November 20, 1648, "that Natt. Hancocke should haue some wood out of the Weare, to be Cut out and fetched home by the Constables at ye Towne Charge." Hancocke was ill and unable to provide the wood himself; he died shortly after.



Weir Field
and
The Ancient Fish Weir
on Menotomy River
J. Albert Holmes, C.E., Cambridge, Mass.

In December, 1648, the use and profit of the weir and the weir land were granted to John Gibson for the two years next ensuing, on condition that he serve the town with fish at nine pence per thousand. Evidently John could not fulfill the contract for, on March 11, 1649, a committee was appointed to arrange with Roger Buck regarding the weir for one year ensuing.

At a meeting of the Selectmen, November 12, 1666, William Dickson made a motion to the effect "that in letting the wares, care might be taken to secure Winottimes Corn fields." It is not quite plain from this record just what Mr. Dickson intended by his motion; perhaps it was to protect the Menotomy corn fields by fencing, perhaps to provide them with fish before other localities were served.

In February, 1685, the weir and weir field were let to Nathaniel Patten for thirty shillings for the ensuing year, and in April, 1686, he was chosen to look after the gate at "Notomie Bridge," for which service the rent of the weir was to be allowed him.

The foregoing is from the "Town and Selectmen's Records." In the "Proprietors' Records," under date of March 28, 1715, we find that a committee was appointed, one of whose duties it was to let the weirs, and on April 8, 1717, the same committee reported that they had "Let ye benefit of ye Wares to Catch fish, the high way & Common Land thereto beLonging for this present year to mr. Henry Dunster & mr. Samuel Bowman for twelve Shillings, they to delivr. ye fish to ye Inhabitants of Said town at Eight pence p thousand."

The Proprietors voted, in June, 1719, to resign the privilege and benefit of the weirs for catching fish to the town, provided the town would defend the weirs against encroachment, and pay certain expenses, and that the fish be equitably distributed at a price not exceeding nine pence per thousand, and finally that the town make acceptance at its next public meeting.

Evidently the town did not accept, for at a meeting of the Proprietors held March 25, 1720, it was "Voted that the privildge of ye Wares for catching of fish, with the Lands thereto appertaining, belongs to Said Proprietors." "Also Voted that One Acre of ye flatts of Great Spy pond on ye North Side ye Bridge over Mills's Ware be laid out for ye better Securing Said Proprietors' privildge

of Catching of fish in Said Town." The "Bridge" carried Weir Lane, or Lake Street, Arlington, over the outlet of Spy Pond.

A committee of the Proprietors, on April 15, 1726, let to Colonel Edmund Goff and Lieutenant Amos Marrett the whole privilege of catching fish at Mills's weir for that year. This is the last mention of the weirs in the "Proprietors' Records."

"Ye half Acre of Land laid out for ye benefit of ye wares & ye high Way leading unto it thru Ware field" was under consideration by the Proprietors during the winter of 1723-1724, and at a meeting held May 15, 1724, it was voted that John Dickson have the improvement of the half-acre of land at the weir and the highway leading to it through Ware Field during the year for six shillings.

In his "History of Cambridge" Paige tells us that at an early period the Dickson family occupied an estate on the easterly side of Menotomy River, extending from North Avenue (now Massachusetts Avenue) to the Winter Hill Road (Broadway, Somerville). On July 24, 1687, pursuant to a vote of the town, the selectmen laid out to John Dickson about one-fourth acre of land, on which to build a house and barn, "in our ware field next Charlestown line;" the northwest boundary was next the Ware Field, on which boundary he was to maintain a fence.

Apparently the half-acre at the weir and the highway leading thereto were never definitely laid out by a vote of the Proprietors, but were reserved. In 1707 four lots were assigned, "In the Ware field." The lot numbered thirty-six, falling to Amos Marrett, was divided by the highway to the weir. That part of Marrett's lot on the easterly side of the highway was bounded northerly by the half-acre, while the portion on the westerly side bordered northerly on Menotomy River.

Massachusetts Avenue in Cambridge, above the Common, was in use as a path or road as early as 1635, and perhaps earlier, and was called the "highway to Menotomy," also, the "Great Road," and "Concord Road."

From the foregoing records we learn that in 1635 a fish weir was established on Menotomy River, and that in the following year a cartway was made to the weir, leading from Menotomy road, a part of which was doubtless Tannery Street. Amos Mar-

rett acquired other land in Ware Field and disposed of his holdings there to John Dickson. Marrett's southeast boundary was on Cambridge Common, meaning common land. Dickson soon acquired all the land between what is now Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, and Broadway, Somerville, though how he came into possession of the weir land I have been unable to ascertain. He died March 22, 1736-1737, and his estate was divided among his sons. In later deeds that portion of the estate next Massachusetts Avenue is described as bordering southeasterly on an open way or lane, leading to Dickson's house, the present Tannery Street.

Tannery Street would be the natural route around the head of the swamp bordering Tannery Brook to the high ground beyond, and thence to the Weir. We also learn that the bridge over the river was called Menotomy Bridge, and that there was a gate at that point; that the weir and the right to take fish thereat, also the weir land and the cartway leading thereto were leased to various residents of the town from time to time, and that the designation for the lands between Massachusetts Avenue and the Somerville line east of Menotomy River was "Ware Field."

There is a plan in the Cambridge city engineer's office at City Hall, bearing date of 1862, on which is shown a foot bridge crossing Menotomy River about seven hundred and forty feet northerly or down stream from Massachusetts Avenue. Just below this bridge appears on the plan the word "fisheries."

This is the spot where the early land grants show the ancient fish weir to have been located, where shad and alewives were taken by the colonists for "fishing their Indian corn." The foot bridge was just at the point where the high land draws close to the river on either side, forming the outfall of the basin in which lie Fresh and Spy Ponds and the Fresh Pond meadows. It would be the natural place to locate a weir, for above the "great swamp" spread out on either side, while a short distance below the river was crossed by the Charlestown line, beyond which the weir could not be located according to the grant. The land is now owned by the Commonwealth and is just within the lines of Menotomy River Parkway. The Cambridge Poor Farm occupies a part of Ware Field.

There was another weir of later date called "Mills's Ware," at the outlet of Spy Pond, and a resident of Cambridge informs me

that he very well remembers a fish house which stood over the brook just north of Concord Avenue, where the fish were taken as they passed through a plank flume.

A committee appointed in 1767 to make a survey of Charlestown streets, and to assert the town's rights where encroachments had been made, reported that "There is a fishing place at Menotomy Bridge, South Side" (Broadway, Somerville) "which appears to belong to the Town, but Mr. Dickson has put up a fence & enclosed the most of it."

That the land belonged to the town is no doubt correct, but their right to take fish there was denied by the County Court in 1681, as appears in the records of the Court: "The selectmen of Cambridge, plaintiffs against Capt. Lawrence Hammond and John Cutler, jun., defendants, do humbly declare as followeth, &c. In the year 1634 the General Court granted them liberty to erect a ware upon Minottomy River, and they accordingly so did, and have had quiet possession of the same from that time until now, without any disturbance of their neighbors of Charlestown or any other; and hath been in a manner the stay and support of the town by fishing their Indian corn, which is the principal part of their husbandry and livelihood. . . . The defendants have both violently and contempuously proceeded to obstruct the passage of the fish to the wares, which they so long possessed, as above said, to their great damage and loss of two hundred thousand fish, which we judge will be a hundred pounds damage to the town in their crop, and tending to the inevitable impoverishing of divers poor families."

Paige says, writing in 1877: "The practice of 'fishing their Indian corn' was long ago abandoned by cultivators in Cambridge; but the privilege of taking fish in Menotomy River remains valuable. It has been subject to occasional controversies and litigations since 1681, in all which Cambridge has preserved the rights originally granted; and to the present day 'fish officers' are annually appointed by the city council to take care that those rights suffer no infringement." The superintendent of sewers and the superintendent of the water-works are now the "fish officers" of Cambridge.

Russell Cook, an old resident of the neighborhood next Menotomy River, and living there at present, states that alewives were so plentiful in the river during the spawning season that "one could

walk across on them." In 1875 tide gates were built in the river near Broadway, which practically put a stop to the fish ascending above that point. The great abundance of alewives taken from the river during the first two hundred years of settlement very naturally lead to its being referred to as the Alewife Brook, and so in the Commissioners' Records we find, under the survey of 1802, the bridge carrying Menotomy Road, now Broadway, Somerville, over Menotomy River referred to as the Alewife Bridge.

The stream was sometimes called "the Little River" and "Little Mystic" as the Mystic River was called the "Great River." We find it called Little River in 1826 and 1848.

Little River has remained as the name of the outlet of Spy Pond, which was sometimes called Menotomy Pond, while Menotomy River was the outlet of Fresh Pond.

In the "History of Arlington" Cutter says: "The names of Mystic and Menotomy rivers are apparently aboriginal designations, and, like all Indian names, probably describe the locality to which they were affixed. Trumbull gives the origin of the name Mystic anciently written Mistick, as applied to the Medford River, thus: 'Tuk' in Indian denotes a river whose waters are driven in waves by the tide or winds. With the adjectival missi, 'great,' it forms missituk, now written Mystic — the name of the 'great river of Boston bay.' The origin of the name Menotomy yet awaits explanation. The spellings of the word have been various."

In the Cambridge "Town Records," 1630-1703, we find the river called "Menotomies," "Menotomy," "Notomy," and "Winattime"; in the Proprietors' Records, 1635-1829, it is given, "Menotmy," "Manotomie," and "Menotamye"; the Commissioners' Records, 1638-1802, give "Winotamies" and "Menotomies" River. Paige calls it "Menotomy" River, and Wyman refers to "Menotomy" River no less than forty times between 1637 and 1808, and once to Alewife River, in 1818.

Cutter gives "Menotomy" River, and there have been found in the Middlesex registry no less than thirty deeds, between the years 1646 and 1794, in which Menotomy River is mentioned.

"Menotomy" is the form of spelling used by far the greater number of times in the above records, and, as the records show, Menotomy River was the name by which the beautiful little stream,

winding its way through the marshes and meadows from Fresh Pond to the Mystic, was known for nearly two hundred years. Its waters were clear and of considerable depth, and at the old weir below Massachusetts Avenue it had a width, in 1862, of about twenty feet, while above it had a less and below a greater width. That the river was used for boats is shown by the following Revolutionary record. On May 10, 1775, the Committee of Safety voted "that Mr. Watson be directed and empowered to remove to Cambridge the boats now in Menotomy river."

At the conclusion of Mr. Holmes's paper the meeting was dissolved.

THE NINETEENTH MEETING

BEING THE SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

THE NINETEENTH MEETING, being the Sixth Annual Meeting, of THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held the twenty-fifth day of October, nineteen hundred and ten, at a quarter before eight o'clock in the evening, in the building of the Cambridge Latin School, Trowbridge Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The President, RICHARD HENRY DANA, presided.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The following persons were chosen a committee to consider and report a list of nominations for the officers of the Society for the ensuing year: HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY, FRANKLIN PERRIN, and STEPHEN PASCHALL SHARPLES.

On behalf of the Council MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI submitted its Annual Report, as follows:

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

THE By-Laws of the Cambridge Historical Society call for a report from the Council at each October meeting. In accordance with this custom we herewith submit the Fifth Annual Report. Another year has passed over the head of the Society and we are still bewailing our youth. Had our Charter been dated fifty years ago how much we might have saved from the wreck of time! How many noted names we might have shown on our roll of membership! But regretting the past avails little now; we must take courage and do what we can with our material.

This year we have not much to report. No centenaries of famous sons of Cambridge have brought our name prominently before

the public, no great work has been accomplished, we have not even yet obtained a permanent home.

There have been three meetings of the Council, one at the Latin School on October 26, 1909, two at the house of the President, November 30, 1909, and May 27, 1910. The Society has held three regular meetings, all, by the courtesy of the authorities, in the Lecture Hall of the Latin School. The Annual Meeting came on October 26, 1909, when the elections were held, Frank Gaylord Cook going out of office as Secretary and Francis Hill Bigelow being chosen to fill his place.

An amendment to the By-Laws was passed, so that Article XVI now reads: "Any regular member shall be exempted from the annual payment if at any time after his admission he shall pay into the Treasury fifty dollars in addition to his previous payments; and any Associate Member shall be similarly exempted on payment of twenty-five dollars. All commutations shall be and remain permanently funded, the interest only to be used for current expenses"; thus providing for Life Membership in the Society.

The speaker for the evening was Mr. Stephen Pascall Sharples, who read an interesting paper on the Lawrence Scientific School, this institution having passed into history. Mr. Sharples was an early pupil and later was instructor in this school, so that he was able to give a full account of its origin, history, and work, and tell of its famous teachers and pupils.

This meeting occurring just as Harvard College was inaugurating a new president, the following timely letters and records were read, all telling of former elections and inaugurations of presidents of Harvard: Extracts from the journal of Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, daughter of President Quincy, 1816-1838; a letter from Edward Everett Hale to George J. Abbot, of Washington, D. C., telling of the acceptance of the presidency by the uncle of the writer, Hon. Edward Everett, in 1845; also letters from Willard Phillips to Octavius Pickering written at the time that Jared Sparks was elected and inaugurated, 1848-1849.

The regular winter meeting was held at the Latin School, January 25, 1910. It was unfortunately a very stormy night, so that only about thirty persons were present to enjoy the able paper read by Mr. Worthington Chauncey Ford, of the Massachusetts Historical

Society, on "Certain Defects in our Historical Societies." Mr. Ford sketched for us an Historical Society as it should *not* be, and then gave several suggestions as to how we could work to the best advantage. He thought it would be a great help if the historical societies would supply the central society with a list of all original documents owned by them, if indeed they did not deposit the documents themselves with the State Society. He said that the Massachusetts Society could mend and care for documents much better than the local societies, and that they would be carefully catalogued and could be consulted at all times.

The remainder of the session was occupied by an informal talk on old documents in historical societies and county courts and how badly some of them were kept, and it was voted that the Council be asked to ascertain what unprinted documents of historical value are in the hands of the City Clerk, and to see that they have proper care and arrangement, also to ascertain if it would not be possible to have a list printed of the wills before 1700 that are in the Middlesex Probate Office, no such list ever having been published.

The third regular meeting was held April 26, 1910. Owing to a severe storm, only twenty-five members were present. A paper was read by Miss Elizabeth Ellery Dana on Lieutenant James Dana of Connecticut, who was quartered in Cambridge during the first year of the Revolution and who fought at Bunker Hill. Several small articles, formerly the property of Lieutenant Dana, were presented to the Society by Mrs. Almeda Anthony Snyder, of East Worcester, N. Y.

Mr. J. Albert Holmes read an exhaustive paper on "The Ancient Fish Weir on Menotomy River." Alewives, the fish that abound in this river, played an important part in the early days of Cambridge, and mention of them is found several times in the records of town meetings. The Indians taught the early settlers to plant alewives in every hill of corn to make it productive.

The bronze Longfellow medal was awarded to Gilbert Franks by the Society, in February of this year, for the best essay on "The Patriotic Poems of Longfellow." This is the second time this medal has been given, and this year, as well as the first year, it went to a son of a professor in Harvard. Both winners were

pupils in the Browne and Nichols Preparatory School. The successful competitor read the essay before his fellow pupils, the members of the Committee on Medals, and a number of parents of the scholars, as well as the President and members of the Council.

The Society has lost by death six regular members: James Barr Ames, John Rayner Edmands, William James Rolfe, Emma Griscom Smith, Alvin Foye Sortwell, and Sarah Hodges Swan. Three Associate members have also passed to the great majority: Alexander Agassiz; Arthur Gilman, who as a Charter member was most active in the formation of the Society; and William Harmon Niles, who at our celebration of the Louis Agassiz Centenary, May, 1907, gave us a paper on the great naturalist from the standpoint of a pupil. Since the last Annual Meeting twelve members have signed the By-Laws, and if there are any present to-night who have not signed it is hoped that they will kindly do so after this meeting.

So much for the year passed; now what are we going to do as to the future? It was voted at the last Council Meeting to have an Index made of the Proprietors' and the Town Records. This is very important, as at present any one trying to get information regarding early settlers is obliged to read much of the books, and owing to the eccentric spelling of the scribes of those days may even then overlook the most important items. It is hoped that this work may be completed during the coming season.

We are gradually accumulating many objects that will be of interest to our descendants, as your Curator will tell you. And now let me urge on every member to try to do something to further our aims this coming year. Your Council is composed of more or less distinguished men and women, all very much engaged in varied pursuits, but here are nearly two hundred members, many of whom have until now done nothing for the common good. What will you do this year? Do you not know of some old record in a family Bible, some old letters written from Cambridge, a scrapbook perhaps? Even if these things do not seem very important to you they may furnish facts that we wish to know. We do not ask for the originals, copies will answer our purpose. Have you no old obituaries or biographical sketches of Cambridge citizens? We should be glad to have them. In these days when every one photographs are there no views of Cambridge streets and houses of which

you could give us copies? Mr. Ford suggested that Cambridge streets should be photographed every few years and prints filed away for future reference; had that been done in the past many knotty points would be cleared up. Have you no sketches of houses long gone? Is there not some record of the past known to you that you could send to the Curator, who will receive anything, no matter how small the gift? Do not sit idle and leave all the work to others; show us what you can do. If every one will cheerfully do his best, our Society will not exist in vain.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

THE past year has not had the noteworthy events to make it as interesting as the previous ones, and the duties of the Secretary have been of minor importance.

Many suggestions have been made before the Society and to the Council at its meetings which should bring results of considerable consequence.

There remains, of course, much to be accomplished by the Society, but with the hearty coöperation of the members the future has much of interest in store.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CURATOR

IN accordance with the plan of arrangement for the Society's collection of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, curios, etc., which was determined upon a year ago, and stated in the last Annual Report, the Curator has had, this year, a definite course to follow, and he has had the good fortune to secure, at a moderate expenditure, the services of an expert cataloguer, Miss Ella S. Wood, by whom the work has been completed and brought down to this date.

Interesting statistics have resulted from this completed work. The collection now has 185 bound volumes; 759 pamphlets; 123 pamphlet holders, containing 1,917 letters; 83 photographs and portraits of Cambridge people, of which 7 are framed; 24 views of or in Cambridge; and 9 curios, etc. The additions during the period covered by this Report were 72 bound volumes, 98 pamphlets, and 1 curio. Notable among the earlier gifts was the chair of Washington Allston,

obtained from the income of a fund in the hands of Mr. Richard H. Dana as sole trustee.¹ Among the later donors, as listed in this year's Proceedings, were Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who gave an album of photographs of Cambridge men of note during the last century; our Secretary, Mr. Francis H. Bigelow, who gave a considerable number of books, pamphlets, and a framed group of tiles from the Todd house; and Miss Mary E. Saunders, who turned over to the Society a miscellaneous collection of books, pamphlets, and newspapers which had belonged to her father, the late George S. Saunders, of 9 Concord Avenue.

A glance at the shelf list will make the plan of arrangement clear, and by its use, for some time to come, the collection is easily accessible. Following the custom in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the books are not themselves numbered. The simplicity of the plan of arrangement there, as here, makes a detailed classification unnecessary, that being left to the card catalogue proper, which now comfortably fills a two-tray case, with a total of some 1,500 cards.

The shelf arrangement by cards, showing some variations from the original plan, and suggesting some later modifications, is as follows:

1. General reference works (the few needed).
2. General histories: Societies, etc.
3. Collected biographies and genealogies: Societies, etc.
4. Histories by States (except New England), including cities, towns, and counties: Societies, etc.
5. New England States (except Massachusetts), including cities, towns, and counties: Societies, etc.
6. Massachusetts cities, towns, and counties (except Cambridge): Societies, etc.
7. Cambridge: (a) Historical and other Societies: Proceedings, etc.
(b) City publications.
(c) Books, pamphlets, views, etc.
(d) Books, etc. by and about Cambridge people.
(e) Early imprints.
(f) Harvard University: Reports, etc.
(g) Radcliffe College: “ “

¹ This fund was made up of the net proceeds of the exhibition of Washington Allston's picture of Belshazzar's Feast, in 1843, with accumulation of interest. (See account in Suffolk Probate Court.)

(h) Other institutions.

(i) Curios, relics, souvenirs, etc.

8. Miscellaneous.

Adherence to the plan of arrangement and choice of material adopted for the Society's collection, and observance of its proper scope and necessary limitations will unavoidably make its growth slower than that possible for other collections of larger scope, but it is believed that there will be a compensating gain, as was stated in the Report of last year, by reason of the development of the collection along exclusive lines as drawn; and it is hoped that there will be sufficient material forthcoming, not only to add to the value and size of the collection, but also to make imperative, beyond further delay, the provision of adequate quarters, and eventually of a building of its own.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

CASH ACCOUNT

IN obedience to the requirements of the By-Laws the Treasurer herewith presents his Annual Report of the Receipts and Disbursements for the year 1909-1910.

RECEIPTS

Balance, 26 October, 1909		\$170.83
Admission Fees	\$16.00	
Annual Assessments: Regular Members	\$531.00	
Associate Members	18.00	549.00
Commutation of the Annual Dues:		
Regular Member	50.00	
Associate Member	25.00	75.00
Society's Publications sold	45.00	685.00
		<u>\$855.83</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

The University Press, printing Publications IV, By-Laws, and bills	\$313.73	
Bureau of Printing and Engraving, printing notices and postal cards	10.50	
Hobbs and Warren Company, letter book	3.50	
Massachusetts Historical Society, pamphlets and reprints	2.40	
Harriet L. Horne, clerical services rendered the Treasurer	25.00	
Edna M. Bullard, stenography and typewriting	22.74	\$377.87

Expenditures brought forward		\$377.87
Sarah L. Patrick, typewriting	19.00	
Thomas F. Cahir, janitor service	5.00	
Walter K. Munroe, services	1.25	
Postage and expressage	23.55	\$426.67
Cataloguing the Collections:		
Ella Sites Wood, services	\$99.25	
Stuart N. Hotaling, services	2.40	
Library Bureau, cards, oak tray and catalogue case	10.88	
Amee Brothers, stationery	11.68	
H. C. Dimond and Company, rubber stamps	1.49	125.70
General Fund, Commutation Fees received during the year	75.00	
Balance on deposit 25 October, 1910	228.46	
		<u>\$855.83</u>

HENRY H. EDES,
Treasurer.

CAMBRIDGE, 25 October, 1910.

REPORT OF THE AUDITOR

I HEREBY certify that I have examined the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Cambridge Historical Society for the year ending this day and find them to have been correctly kept and to be properly vouched. I have also verified the Cash Balance.

ANDREW MCF. DAVIS,
Auditor.

CAMBRIDGE, 25 October, 1910.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was read and accepted and the Committee was discharged.

The following persons, nominated by the Committee, were elected by ballot for the ensuing year:

The Council

CLARENCE WALTER AYER,
HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY,
FRANCIS HILL BIGELOW,
RICHARD HENRY DANA,
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS,
HENRY HERBERT EDES,
MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI,

EDWARD HENRY HALL,
THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON,
ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE,
WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,
ALICE MARY LONGFELLOW,
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

<i>President</i>	RICHARD HENRY DANA.
<i>Vice-Presidents</i>	{ THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON. ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS. ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE.
<i>Secretary</i>	CLARENCE WALTER AYER.
<i>Treasurer</i>	HENRY HERBERT EDES.
<i>Curator</i>	CLARENCE WALTER AYER.

The SECRETARY-ELECT was duly sworn.

On behalf of the Committee on Early Settlers' Descendants the following report was presented by Mary Isabella Gozzaldi:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EARLY SETTLERS' DESCENDANTS

THIS Committee was appointed in the first year of the Society, but never before has made a report. The members who have filled out their papers are:

MISSSES ELIZABETH HARRIS and ALBERTA MANNING HOUGHTON. Descended in the eighth generation from Major Simon Willard, 1632.

In the ninth generation from William Manning, before 1638.

MRS. EMMA MARIA (CUTTER) MITCHELL (MRS. JOHN). In the eighth generation from Richard Cutter who came to Cambridge about 1638; Thomas Fillebrown, admitted to the Cambridge Church in 1666.

MRS. MARY GERTRUDE (PARKER) SHEFFIELD (MRS. GEORGE). In the seventh generation from Richard Hildreth, here before 1644; Edward Winship, 1635; John Poulter who lived at Cambridge Farms in 1697.

MRS. MARY ISABELLA (JAMES) GOZZALDI (MRS. SILVIO). In the ninth generation from William Adams, who had a land grant in 1635, and was made freeman May 22, 1639.

MISS MARION BROWN FESSENDEN, descended from twenty-three early settlers; twice (both in maternal and paternal lines) from seven of these. In the eighth generation from Nicholas Fessenden, before 1674; Lieut. David Fiske, about 1646; John Brown, before 1656; William Munroe, (two lines) 1652; John Mason, (two lines) before 1676; Thomas Fillebrown, admitted to the Church in 1666; John Rolfe, before 1656; John Spring, (two lines) before 1657.

In the ninth generation from Lydia Cooper, before 1636; Henry Prentice, before 1643; Nathaniel Bowman, 1650; Roger Wellington, 1638; James Cutler, (two lines) 1649; Elizabeth Cutter, (two lines) about 1640; Nicholas Wyeth, about 1645; John Ward, about 1643; Thomas Sweatman, 1645; Thomas Cheney, before 1656; George Reed, 1635.

In the tenth generation from Edward Jackson, before 1643; Gregory Stone, 1637.

In the eleventh generation from John Bridge, (two lines) 1632; Nicholas Danforth, (two lines) 1635.

MISS SARAH ALICE WORCESTER. In the eighth generation from Governor Thomas Dudley, 1631.

MISS SUSANNA WILLARD. In the seventh generation from Major Simon Willard, 1634.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON WHITTEMORE. In the sixth generation from Samuel Whittemore.

In the eighth generation from President Henry Dunster, 1640; Governor Thomas Dudley, 1631; Mrs. Elizabeth Cutter, 1638.

MRS. ISABELLA STUART WHITTEMORE (MRS. WILLIAM R.). In the sixth generation from Abraham Ireland.

JOSEPH HENRY BEALE. In the ninth generation from Thomas Fillebrown, 1666; Henry Prentice, before 1643; Nicholas Wyeth, about 1645; John Ward, about 1643.

In the tenth generation from Mrs. Elizabeth Cutter, 1638.

WILLIAM EBEN STONE. In the eighth generation from Gregory Stone, 1637; John Champney, 1638.

FRANCIS HILL BIGELOW has eighteen ancestors among the early settlers. In the sixth generation from Joseph Hill, 1727.

In the seventh generation from Owen Warland; Josiah Parker.

In the eighth generation from Henry Prentice, before 1643; John Ward, about 1643; William Reed, 1718; Richard Dana; Nicholas Wyeth, about 1645.

In the ninth generation from Lydia Cooper, before 1636; John Benjamin, 1635; Lieut. David Fiske, about 1646; Francis Whitmore; John Brewer, 1642; Edward Jackson, 1643; John Champney, 1638; Thomas Blodgett, 1635.

In the tenth generation from William Manning, before 1638; Richard Parks, 1638.

JOHN HERBERT BARKER, of Waltham, Associate member. In the eighth generation from Richard Francis; John Cooper; Nicholas Wyeth.

In the ninth generation from Henry Prentice; Nathaniel Hancock; John Ward; Nathaniel Sparhawk.

In the tenth generation from Edward Jackson; Jonas Clarke.

Only fourteen members of the two hundred have sent in their papers. I know that it is considerable trouble to make them out, but it is also very interesting. I have blanks for any one who will use them, and shall be glad to make out the papers for members who will send me their line from any one mentioned in Paige's History of Cambridge.

Although only fourteen members have reported, they represent nearly fifty of the early settlers. There are a great many more than this represented by their descendants in our Society.

Upon the main subject for the meeting **SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER** read the following paper:

ADVENTURES OF JOHN NUTTING, CAMBRIDGE
LOYALIST



[From his Memorial to Lord George Germain, 1777.]

To paraphrase Cowper, hymning the surprising adventures of another John:

John Nutting was a carpenter
Of credit and renown.
A train-band captain eke was he
Of famous Cambridge town.

His father was James the locksmith, of humble but respectable pedigree, — so humble that only his wife's first name, Mercy, is recorded.¹ Young John was born 14 January, 1739, Old Style.² Within the week he was baptized,³ after the prompt, Godfearing fashion of his day, and named for his uncle, the aristocrat of the family, who held the double distinction of a Harvard degree and the Collectorship at Salem.

Six years later his father died,⁴ and the lad, on reaching suitable age, was apprenticed to John Walton,⁵ housewright, of Reading. This worthy was destined to play an important part in his career,

¹ Cf. L. R. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 616, etc.

² From data collected by John's grandson, the late Charles Martyr Nutting, K.C., of Halifax, most kindly placed at my disposal by his nephew, Henry Haliburton Robinson, Esq., of London. Hereinafter referred to as Nutting Papers.

³ 21 January, 1739. Register of First Parish, Cambridge.

⁴ Administration granted to the widow 27 Jan. 1745-6, with an allowance for the three youngest (*sic*) children "one of which was sickly." Middlesex Probate Records, No. 16138. It seems impossible to suppose John was the invalid.

⁵ 96 Massachusetts Archives (Muster Rolls), 420.

at least in that portion of it connected with Cambridge. He is often called Captain Walton,¹ and we may surmise that it was through his influence that his apprentice, when only seventeen, marched from Cambridge in Captain Fuller's company of Colonel William Brattle's regiment "on the alarm for the relief of Fort William Henry."² He served but two weeks on that expedition, getting no farther than Springfield, where the news of the final disaster to the ill-fated garrison probably reached his command.

The next year he enlisted³ under Captain Aaron Fay in "a company of foot in His Majesty's service," forming a part of Colonel Ebenezer Nichols's regiment raised by Massachusetts "for the reduction of Canada." This time he saw real service, and on a pretty considerable scale. Nichols's regiment formed part of the composite force of over fifteen thousand men, regulars and militia, that gathered that summer on the shores of Lake George, and under the inefficient Abercrombie made a bootless attack on Montcalm, entrenched at Ticonderoga. Young Jack must have had his fill of wilderness-marching, lake-paddling, and stockade-building; and perhaps of fighting as well, for on at least one occasion his regiment was severely cut up.⁴ He may have seen and must have lamented the untimely death of young Lord Howe, who, though nominally second in command, was the life and soul of the expedition.

These early seeds of martial experience evidently fell on good ground. Nutting's aptitude for military life, especially of the militia variety, as well as the early development of his powers of command, organization, persuasion, and *camaraderie*, so essential to promotion therein, may be inferred from the fact that ere the Revolution he had been elected "acting lieutenant" of the Cambridge company, — doubtless in place of Lieutenant Samuel Thatcher, who on the reorganization of the militia shortly before the outbreak of active hostilities had been promoted Captain, vice Thomas Gard-

¹ In 1775, when he had moved to Cambridge, he was first lieutenant in the local company, with his brother for second. L. R. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 408.

² 95 Massachusetts Archives (Muster Rolls), 377.

³ 2 May, 1758. 96 Massachusetts Archives (Muster Rolls), 420. Nichols was a Reading man. L. Eaton, *Genealogical History of Reading*, 98.

⁴ Cf. R. Rogers, *Journal*, 121. J. Cleaveland, *Journal*; xji. Essex Institute Historical Collections, 190; etc.

ner.¹ In this position his influence was certainly sufficient to make his leadership sought by both sides in the struggle,² as we shall see.

Perhaps it is not too fanciful to picture the young militiaman returning in November from his first campaign, with the irresistible air of all true sons of Mars, making conquest then and there of the heart of his master's daughter, Mary Walton. At all events we find him three years later, just out of his indentures and entitled to call himself housewright on his own account, preparing a home for his bride in Cambridge. On November 7, 1761, he bought of William Bordman for £16 lawful money a little lot of a quarter of an acre (about where the Epworth Church now stands) "on the highway or Common as far as the land belonging to the Heirs of Mr. Johnathan Hastings dec^d" and in front of "the Tan Yard," with "half the well."³ Here he built a modest house "two story high, three rooms on a floor"—"a good house," as one of his boarders testified later,⁴ and it is something for a boarder to say that. Here the young couple established themselves, and here, 26 April, 1762,⁵ was born their first child, a daughter, baptized⁶ Mary for her mother; her father, as was customary (if not already done), "owning the covenant" the same day in Dr. Appleton's meeting. The next June he bought an additional strip of land from Bordman for £6 lawful.⁷

The extant records of his next few years are mainly concerned with the good old-fashioned steady increases to the family, till half a dozen babies were tumbling about the little house opposite the common. John Junior was born 3 March, 1764;⁸ Mercy (named from

¹ L. R. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 408.

² Memorial to the Commissioners on Loyalists' Claims. Heard at Halifax, 29 December, 1785. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

³ 59 Middlesex Deeds, 266.

⁴ Testimony of Nathaniel Bust before the Commissioners, 29 December, 1785. *American Loyalists Transcripts*, xiii. 303. Public Library, New York City.

⁵ Nutting Papers.

⁶ 9 May, 1762. First Parish Records.

⁷ 59 Middlesex Deeds, 624.

⁸ Nutting Papers. Baptized 11 March, 1764. First Parish Records. Died unmarried 30 July, 1822. Nutting Papers.

her paternal grandmother) arrived on Washington's Birthday, 1766;¹ Mary No. 2 (No. 1 having died 12 April, 1766²) came to carry on the name, 1 March, 1768;³ Elizabeth (another family cognomen) opened her eyes on 5 April, 1770;⁴ James (named from his paternal grandfather) joined the flock on 8 May, 1772;⁵ and Susanna put in an appearance on 28 August, 1773.⁶

Meanwhile our housewright was becoming a man of substance and standing. In 1768 he was appointed one of the parish tax-collectors, and had the handling of as much as a hundred and sixty pound on a single accounting.⁷ In his turn he began to take apprentices.⁸ His father-in-law Walton seems to have put work in his way, and certainly stood behind him with financial backing.⁹ He himself described his business as "extensive," both as master-builder and in the lumber trade.¹⁰ Among other important jobs, he did nearly a hundred and forty pounds' worth of work in building Mr. Thomas Oliver's fine house,¹¹ which under the name of "Elmwood" still stands stout and good.

He also dabbled in maritime interests. A strong streak of the sea was in his blood. The family name was well represented among the amphibious population of Salem, Marblehead, and Glou-

¹ Nutting Papers. Baptized 3 March, 1766. First Parish Records. Died 1784. Nutting Papers.

² Stone in Cambridge Churchyard.

³ Nutting Papers. Baptized 6 March, 1768. First Parish Records. Married Captain Daniel McNeil of North Carolina, 27 November, 1788, at Halifax, and had three children. Died circa 1795. Nutting Papers.

⁴ Nutting Papers. Baptized 6 May, 1770. First Parish Records. Died between 1776 and 1783. See *post*.

⁵ Nutting Papers. Baptized perhaps at Christ Church, for by this date Nutting had left the First Parish meeting. Died between 1776 and 1783.

⁶ Ditto.

⁷ First Parish Account Book labelled "1768."

⁸ When he went to Halifax he took two of them along. Memorial to Germain, 28 February, 1778. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

⁹ 71 Middlesex Deeds, 480.

¹⁰ Memorial to the Commissioners. Heard at Halifax, 29 December, 1785. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

¹¹ "Account of Particulars of the Expences of Thomas Olivers Buildings in Cambridge." Bristol, 2 October, 1788. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 48, Public Record Office, London.

cester,¹ and in the earliest records of the American Navy.² His father appears to have been the armorer of the little man-of-war *Prince of Orange* in the early 40's,³ and at his death left, according to the inventory of his estate, "a Sain 100 / -, codline 5 / -."⁴ Of his brothers, James was a "marriner"⁵ and Samuel a surgeon aboard the *Independence* and the *Rhodes* throughout the Revolution.⁶ His brother Jonathan was captured in the brig *Ruby* by the British and confined in the prison-ship at St. Lucia; but swam by night with ten companions to a vessel a mile off, overpowered her crew, and sailed away to freedom.⁷ Two of his nephews, master and mate, found a sailor's grave in the loss of the *Hercules*.⁸ He himself was paid "14/- for boating Mr. Serjeant's goods to Cambridge"⁹ when that gentleman arrived as the new rector of Christ Church in the summer of 1767. He was so familiar with the Bay of Fundy and the coast of Maine that he was able a few years later to act as pilot to one of the British expeditions therealong (of which more anon). This familiarity was evidently acquired on coasting-trips to secure his supplies of lumber, which, odd as it may sound, was then almost entirely brought to Boston from the shores of Maine.¹⁰

It was on these trips that he became interested in acquiring lands "to the Eastward," as the phrase then went — perhaps by

¹ J. K. Nutting, *Nutting Genealogy*, *passim*.

² *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution*, xi. *passim*.

³ *Massachusetts Archives (Muster Rolls)*, *passim*.

⁴ *Middlesex Probate Records*, No. 16138.

⁵ *Middlesex Probate Records*, No. 16140.

⁶ *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution*, xi. *passim*.

⁷ C. Eaton, *History of Thomaston*, i. 149.

⁸ *Idem*. ii. 341.

⁹ *Christ Church Accounts*.

¹⁰ At the outbreak of the Revolution he "left Lumber to the Eastward to the value of £ 40 lawful Money." Testimony before the Commissioners, 29 December, 1785. *American Loyalists Transcripts*, xiii. 801. Public Library, New York City. Moreover, as early as 1750, since "The Fire Wood near Boston is much exhausted, we are under a necessity of fetching it from the Province of Main, and Territory of Sagadahock. A Wood Sloop with three Hands makes about 15 Voyages per Ann. from the Eastward to Boston, may carry about 30 Cord Fire Wood each Voyage." W. Douglass, *A Summary . . . of the British Settlements in North America*, ii. 68.

the advice of brother Jonathan, who from 1767 onwards was making considerable purchases and sales of real estate in what is now Thomaston, Maine, and the coast adjacent.¹ Following his example, and little foreseeing the results on his own and indeed on his country's history, our John began investing in shore lots, quite in the modern manner, just across Penobscot Bay, in what is now Castine, and up the Bagaduce River.

Save for the straggling clearings of a few of the original grantees,² that region was then an unbroken wilderness, covered to the water's edge with those magnificent pines and other evergreens that afforded an apparently inexhaustible supply of the finest timber, especially masts and spars, in a day when masts and spars were a very real necessity. John Nutting set to work, either personally or by proxy, and in a few years was able to inventory his estates as:

"Two Houses to the Eastward of the Province of Massachusetts Bay £ 80" —

Two hundred acres & upwards of good Land in one of the most eligible situations in Penobscot purchased of the grantee³ who possessed the same upwards of 20 years, more than 30 Acres of which is well cleared and under Improvement, the rest Wooded & Estimated at the least computation at 1000 —

One third part of a Saw Mill adjoining s^d Land at Penobscot 70 —

A Farm partly cleared & Improved by myself on Bagwidge River, 500 Acres 100 — "4

He spent a good deal of money on this property and got considerable returns from it. In 1769 he had on one account with a brother housewright, Nathaniel Kidder of Medford, who was appar-

¹ Wiscasset Deeds, *passim*.

² See full lists in 117 Massachusetts Archives, and 24 "Court Records" (March, 1762).

³ Apparently named Busy. Testimony of "Josiah Henny, late of Penobscot" before the Commissioners 29 December, 1785. xiii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 302. Public Library, New York City. The printed copies, generally more accurate, give the name Bary. A. Fraser, Second Report, Bureau of Archives, Ontario, 59. Neither form has been otherwise identified.

⁴ A composite of two schedules, one dated Halifax, 15 January, 1784, the other undated, but heard at Halifax, 29 December, 1785. Both in Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

ently acting as his agent, no less than £378 lawful money, including many cash payments, the "freight" on forty bushels of corn, thirty-one barrels, etc.¹

But the year 1770 marks a sudden check in John Nutting's prosperous financial career, and somehow puts him in a hole from which he never completely extricated himself. He had been borrowing small sums from his father-in-law for a good while, and now had to mortgage his Cambridge property to him for £93.² Some of his Penobscot lands he had taken for bad debts,³ and there may have been other sums owing to him not so well secured. At any rate he could not raise ready cash to meet his local creditors, and their suits when once begun came thick and fast.⁴ Nathaniel Coolidge of Watertown brought suit against him in that year for lumber sold. In February, 1771, Kidder sued him for the "cash expended to the Eastward." In May the executor of Francis Dizer, "marriner" of Charlestown, sued him for promissory notes, probably on the same subject. In July Abijah Steadman, housewright, sued him on another note. In August John Smith, "taylor," sued him for eight pair of breeches, sundry lambskins and buttons. (The babies were evidently growing up.) In September Nathaniel Prentice, chaisemaker, sued him on an agreement which is so characteristic of the business methods of that day that it may stand repetition:

"for that whereas the pl^t on ye fourth Day of January last, at Cambridge afores^d had agreed with & promised ye s^d John to make & deliver to him, on or before the twenty fifth Day of April then next, another good Chaise such an one as ye pl^t had before that time made for one Francis Moore, ye s^d John in consideration thereof then & there promised ye pl^t to build for ye plaintiff a good Frame for a Barn of thirty Feet square, fourteen feet posts, oak sills, to be to the Acceptance of

¹ Kidder v. Nutting, Middlesex Inferiour Court of Common Pleas, 1771. Original Files. In 1786 the charge for a passenger from Boston to Penobscot was 6 s. i. Bangor Historical Magazine, 58.

² 71 Middlesex Deeds, 430.

³ Testimony of Lieutenant John Nutting before the Commissioners, Halifax, 29 December, 1785. xiii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 303. Public Library, New York City.

⁴ See original files of Middlesex Inferiour Court of Common Pleas. Clerk's Office, East Cambridge.

one Sam^l Choate & one John Walton & to be delivered at ye House of Joseph Miller of Charlestown on or before ye said twenty fifth of April, at ye price of Eleven pounds six shillings & Eight pence; and also to procure for ye pl^t another Frame twenty four feet in Length & twenty feet in Breadth with Oak Sills & fourteen feet posts, to be delivered at s^d prentice's Dwelling House in s^d Cambridge, on or before ye fifteenth Day of June then next at the price of Eight pounds & to be to the Acceptance of the s^d Choate and Walton, yet s^d Nutting has never delivered the last mentioned frame, nor ever paid the £6.13.4 . . ."

[Account annexed.]

"To a New Riding Chaise	£22. 0.0
Cr. By a Barn Frame £12 By a pair of Chaise	
Wheels £3.6.8.	15. 6.8
Ball'a due to N. prentice	<u>6.13.4"</u>

Nutting was evidently at his wits' end to raise money. He negotiated a second mortgage on his Cambridge property to his father-in-law, for £53.¹ He took at least one boarder.² Some of the suits he defaulted, others he contested on technicalities, and appealed, but did not prosecute the appeal. Occasionally he kept out of sight altogether, perhaps at Penobscot. In all the suits he lost his case. The amounts were generally trifling, and were probably settled by work at his trade. Kidder, whose claim was much the largest, actually proceeded to levy on Nutting's remaining interest in his twice-mortgaged house and lot, apparently conceded to be one-half: "containing a cellar measuring nine fott and four inches . . . the west end of the house containing a Lower Room partly finished a Chamber also a Bed-Chamber North of the Stairs unfinished also half the whole Garret unfinished with the one half of the Entry Ways and Stair Ways in the whole of the House."³ Prentice, in an attempt to find some property that could be come at by the time he began suit, attached Nutting's pew in the meeting-house: "One of the body Pews. the frunt pasfing [?] to Henry Prentice the back part to

¹ 72 Middlesex Deeds, 104.

² Mr. Nathaniel Rust. See his testimony before the Commissioners, *supra*, p. 57, note. Also his affidavit "that he resided at Cambridge many years preceding the late War." Halifax, 15 January, 1784. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

³ 73 Middlesex Deeds, 279.

Owen Worlen the two Ends on two allies.”¹ From this time the unfortunate Nutting seems to have been an unchurched wanderer till he began attending Christ Church, just across the Common from his house. No doubt he already found his sympathies more with the Tory proprietors there than with the congregation in the meeting-house, with so many of whom he must have been by this time on bad terms. Even there he soon got into debt to the churchwardens, but in 1774 he was formally voted the rather unusual privilege of renting a pew, at 24/- per annum.²

And now we come to that memorable Thursday, the first of September, 1774, when the Revolution very nearly began at daybreak on Cambridge Common, and when John Nutting definitely cast in his lot with the supporters of law and order and the King’s government. In his own words, “receiving an Intimation from Colonel Phipps (Sheriff of the County) of General Gage’s intention to remove the Magazine of Powder deposited at that place to Boston; and soliciting the assistance of your Memorialist, he readily assisted; notwithstanding he had been previously importuned by a Mob to head them and prevent the Removal of it.”³ . . . which altogether with his open Avowal of principles of Loyalty, raised the resentment of the populace against him to such a Degree as obliged him to quit his House & Family, & take refuge in Boston, under the protection of the Kings Troops.”⁴

In Boston, whither his family soon followed him, he found himself in mighty genteel company,⁵ many of his richest and most prominent fellow townsmen having also made it convenient to get in closer touch with the authorities at about the same time or even

¹ Prentice v. Nutting. Original Files, *ubi supra*.

² Christ Church Records.

³ Memorial to the Commissioners. Heard at Halifax, 29 December, 1785. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London. Cf. his testimony before the Commissioners: “. . . altho’ the Mob desired and insisted that as an Officer of Militia he should prevent the Ordnance from being removed.” xiii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 297. Public Library, New York City.

⁴ Memorial to Germain, “Read 22 Decr 77.” Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

⁵ “We have here Earls, Lords & Baronets, I assure you Names that sound Grand.” Letter of Samuel Paine, Boston, Oct. 2-9, 1775. xxx. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 371.

earlier. From this point in his career indeed may be traced the beginnings of a knack of obtaining the friendship and confidence of the nobility and gentry that later developed to surprising proportions. To his credit it must be added that those friendships never seem to have been unmerited nor that confidence misplaced. Unlike so many of his fellow-Tories, whose firm adherence to the Crown was mainly evidenced by a prodigious capacity for running away, his own loyalty, as events soon proved, was of an extremely practical kind.

Boston was full of the King's troops, and more were arriving at short intervals. In the chill nights of the early autumn their tents were already becoming uncomfortable, and the need of substantial housing for them soon became imperative. The authorities prudently forbore to billet the unwelcome visitors upon the town, and decided to build special barracks for them.¹

The announcement of this design fell upon most unwilling ears. The dullest Bostonian could perceive that the erection of permanent barracks in his beloved and almost autonymous metropolis meant its degradation to the level of a mere garrison town. Moreover it was bruited on good authority that even if the present unhappy differences should be composed a garrison at Boston was to be maintained indefinitely, as a check on any possible future uprisings. The building of barracks immediately assumed the proportions of a grievance, adding one more to the already too plentiful stock of those commodities upon which the spirit of rebellion thrived. Attempts therefore to begin the work were met with a most effective passive resistance of the local mechanics. A trial of the regimental carpenters under the chief engineer Montrésor proved such a failure that Gage took measures to secure workmen from New York. "It's my opinion," remarked the observant Mr. John Andrews in his diary, "if they are wise, they won't come." And as a matter of fact they did n't, but snug on Manhattan Island contented themselves with passing the usual patriotic resolutions.²

¹ The printed accounts of the following episode are mainly to be found in i. P. Force, *American Archives*, 4th series, 802-821, and J. Andrews, *Diary*, viii. *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 300. See also "Letters of Hugh Earl Percy," who was in direct charge of the camp.

² Some came later, and a pretty set they were. A few days before the evac-

Whereupon, "in consequence of the favorable representations of Lieutenant Governor Oliver and Gen. Gage's earnest solicitations," John Nutting came forward and stoutly undertook the unpopular post of master-carpenter, "being," as he afterwards boasted, "the first person of an American that entered into the King's service when the troubles began." His executive capacity was astonishing. In the midst of the general disaffection, by hook or crook he managed to secure some forty or fifty men,¹ and the barrack frames began to rise both on the Common and at the Neck. The sight was too much for the Selectmen. If they could not traverse the orders of the Governor, they could adopt indirect methods, and on September 24 they significantly resolved "that should the mechanicks or other inhabitants of this town assist the troops by furnishing them with artificers labourers or materials of any kind to build barracks or other places of accommodation for the troops, they will probably incur the displeasure of their brethren, who may withhold their contributions for the relief of the town, and deem them as enemies to the rights and liberties of *America*."

Gage saw the trick, and immediately sent for the Selectmen, "seemed a great deal worried," and with plentiful profanity represented that the work must go on, as the regiments had to be lodged somewhere. The wily Selectmen replied that for their own part they should actually prefer to see the soldiers kept together in barracks under discipline rather than scattered irresponsibly about the town, but that they had to consider the attitude of the surrounding places. In truth this was extremely threatening. "If they are suffered to proceed," observed Mr. Andrews, as to the imported laborers, "the matter is settled with us, for it is with the greatest difficulty that the country are restrained from coming in

nation one of the Selectmen wrote: "The Inhabitants in the utmost distress, thro' fear of the Town being destroyed by the Soldiers, a party of New York Carpenters with axes going thro' the town breaking open houses, &c. Soldiers and sailors plundering of houses, shops, warehouses." *Newell's Journal*. i. *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 4th series, 274.

¹ Memorial to Germain, "Read 22 Dec 77." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London. He later explained that he got them "from the Country." Testimony before Commissioners, Halifax, 29 Dec. 1785. xiii. *American Loyalists Transcripts*, 297. Public Library, New York City.

even now." The Governor next interviewed "King" Hancock, begging him to get the vote reconsidered; but in vain, and on the 26th, "at four o'clock the workmen *all* pack'd up their tools and left the barracks, frames, &ca." The next day a combined meeting of the committees of all the neighboring towns voted not to supply the army with lumber, bricks, labor, or in short anything but those provisions "which mere humanity requires."

Affairs were now apparently at a stand. But the master-builder was a man of resource. The ship-carpenters from the fleet were pressed into service, while, acting no doubt on Nutting's knowledge of affairs "to the Eastward," an armed schooner was despatched to Halifax "for all the Artificers they can procure from there." Still the difficulties of the job were not over. On land the ship-carpenters proved in truth out of their element, "being very ignorant of the method of framing and indeed of any sort of work they wanted done," and had to be dismissed. Wages then unheard of were offered for a day's work — two dollars, three dollars, "or even any price at all" — but not a workman came forward.¹ Lumber soon became so scarce that it was hard to find boards enough to make even a coffin for the dead, to say nothing of a habitation for the living. A shipload of planks intended for Boston was seized by the rebels at Portsmouth, and got no farther. An old brick house at Point Shirley was torn down and turned into ill-constructed barrack chimneys. The troops were almost in mutiny for lack of their promised accommodations, and several regiments had to remain aboard the transports they arrived in, made fast along the wharves. Somehow Nutting struggled on with the work till about the middle of October,² when a party of carpenters arrived from Portsmouth (probably secured "at the Eastward"), and the idle and hungry Boston workmen had their first sight of "scabs" on high wages taking the bread out of their mouths. This was the last straw, and the usual recourse of all strikers followed. Nutting

¹ Montrésor, the Chief Engineer, reported that in his department on October 1 "an addition was thought absolutely necessary of 1 master carpenter, 1 foreman carpenter, 20 carpenters," etc. xi. J. Almon, Parliamentary Register, 279.

² Captain Evelyn notices the occurrence briefly in a letter dated 31 October, 1774. He adds that the man was by way of being hanged. Letters of Captain W. G. Evelyn, 39.

was waylaid at night — but he shall tell the story in his own words, as found in his subsequent memorial to the Commissioners on Loyalists' Claims:

“Several members of the Rebel Committee called on him and used every perswasion and promised every advantage to induce him to quit the King's Works; but after finding their Entreaties without effect they proceeded to Violence; a Mob the next day having concealed themselves, seized on your Memorialist on his Way from thence to his Lodgings in Boston and after almost killing him put him on board a Boat under charge of Four men with directions to convey him to Cambridge to be examined by the Committee then sitting there; but, fortunately for your Memorialist, thro' perswasion and a small consideration they were prevailed on to set him at Liberty near Cambridge from whence he returned to his Duty at the Lines; in passing from whence to his Lodgings or otherways, General Gage was pleased in future to furnish him with a Party of Men to protect him from the Insults of the Inhabitants.”¹

In some fashion therefore the barracks were finished, at least “at the lines,” — those on the Common seem to have been given up, — and by November 16 they were occupied; none too soon, for the number of fatal cases of illness from exposure was already considerable. Nutting's work however continued. There was much to be done, not only on the fortifications under Montrésor, of the Engineers, but on gun-carriages, ammunition-wagons, etc. under Colonel Cleaveland of the Royal Artillery,² and perhaps on the long-suffering lighthouse, which was at last repaired and relit in December of 1775.³ Press of business might well have been his excuse, if a polite one were needed, for his continued absence from home. By an odd retaliation in kind, his much encumbered house, or, as it was elegantly termed, “Seat in Cambridge in the Spring of the Year 1775 . . . was made a Barrack for the american Souldiers and

¹ Memorial to the Commissioners, heard 29 December, 1785, at Halifax. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

² See his certificate, London, 7 June, 1778. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

³ 23 December, 1775. Howe to Dartmouth. xi. J. Almon, Parliamentary Register, 271. At least one party of carpenters at work there was kidnapped by the provincials, but Nutting evidently was not included.

much Damaged thereby.”¹ It was later taken possession of by his ex-master, backer, father-in-law and mortgagee² John Walton, on a quite excusable “Idea that Mr. Nutting’s Family have cost him that much.”³

Our loyal carpenter continued actively employed in Boston until within about six weeks of the evacuation. Then under orders from Captain Spry he removed, with his wife, six children, two ‘prentices, and “about fourteen artificers” to Halifax, leaving, as it proved, his native heath forever, — leaving too a memory that rankled in the patriotic breast for many a long day. Small wonder that in the Proscription Act of October, 1778, he is one of the few Cambridge men specifically enumerated as having “left this state . . . and joined the enemies thereof . . . manifesting an inimical disposition . . . and a design to aid and abet the enemies thereof in their wicked purposes.”⁴

His work at Halifax through that heart-breaking spring of 1776 can be easily imagined. If ever a housewright was needed, it was then and there. We are all familiar with the picture — the miserable little fishing village, with a proportion of foul dram-shops before which the typical western mining town seems a Shaker settlement,⁵ completely overwhelmed by the multitude of gently-nurtured refugees, whole families seated crying on the surf-beaten rocks without so much as a tent over their heads, lacking food, fuel, and above all shelter.⁶ If it was not Nutting’s idea it was at least characteristic of him to have devised the expedient of getting

¹ Affidavits of John Walton, Cambridge, and Benjamin Walton, Reading. 29 October, 1788. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

² And apparently also his successor as lieutenant of the Cambridge company. L. R. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 408.

³ Claimant’s testimony before the Commissioners. Halifax, 29 December, 1785. xiii. *American Loyalists Transcripts*, 300. Public Library, New York City. With characteristic assurance Nutting some years later demanded compensation for his Cambridge property to the tune of £735. See schedules mentioned on page 94.

⁴ *Province Laws, 1778–1779*, 2nd Session, chapter 24.

⁵ One of the inhabitants wrote in 1780: “The business of one half the town is to sell rum, and the other half to drink it.” ii. T. C. Haliburton, *History of Nova Scotia*, 13.

⁶ Abigail Adams to John Adams, 21 April, 1776.

ashore the cabooses and deck-houses of the transports and converting them into whole streets of little huts.¹ We can fancy how vigorously he must have pushed forward the work. Cabins, sheds, camps, anything that the limited supply of lumber allowed, had to be run up as fast as possible, ruined cottages repaired and made tenable, the dazed and drunken fishermen driven to work, the inefficient shipwrights from the fleet made the most of, something provided in the way of wharves and landing facilities, store-sheds, more barracks again, and what not.

The fortifications of the town too were in a perilous state. Although Halifax had already been termed "the northern key of His Majesty's American dominions"² and a royal dockyard established there, yet the defences had been allowed to go to rack and ruin; batteries were dismantled, gun-carriages decayed and guns on the ground. In fact the town lay practically "open to the country on every side."³ At last the sudden military importance of the station and the persistent and disquieting rumors of an attack upon it⁴ moved the home government to decided action, and the army estimates for 1776 contemplated an expenditure of nearly £1500 sterling on constructions and repairs there.⁵ It was not an easy matter to get the work done. In that scattered and unskilled community, where a few years before two distillers, two hatters and a sugar-baker made up the entire manufacturing class,⁶ it was next to impossible to obtain either materials or workmen. Again, however, Nutting ap-

¹ E. P. Weaver, "Nova Scotia during the Revolution," x. *American Historical Review*, 67.

² Campbell to Hillsborough, 13 January, 1769; 43 *Provincial Archives*, No. 67. Halifax.

³ Legge to Dartmouth, 19 August, 1775; 44 *Provincial Archives*, 76. Halifax.

⁴ E. P. Weaver, "Nova Scotia during the Revolution," x. *American Historical Review*, 65.

⁵ The items were divided among the "Square Store for Small Arms, the Long Store for Small Arms, Bedding Store, Laboratory, Ordinance Yard, Gun Taakling Store, Junk Store, Lumber Yard, Artillery Barracks, Armourer's Shop, Governor's Battery, South Gate Battery, South Five Gun Battery, North Five Gun Battery, and Inclosing Land reserved for his Majesty on the hill." vi. J. Almon, *Parliamentary Register*, 141. Judging by later plans of the city, not much of this work was actually accomplished.

⁶ Francklin to Hillsborough, 11 July, 1768. J. Brymner, "Report on Canadian Archives, 1894," 287.

pears to have done wonders, and among other feats to have built by August no less than ten large block-houses, each mounting sixteen guns.¹ We may safely assume that he earned his pay at Halifax "as Master Carpenter and Superintendant of Mechanics," "serving," as one of the officers present put it, "with Active Spirit and uncommon Loyalty."²

Moreover he soon found other methods of displaying these qualities. The year 1777 saw the most elaborate preparations which Great Britain took to suppress the rebellion. The great movement to isolate New England was not properly worked out in detail, but it did include some appreciation of the importance of diverting the attention of the revolutionists by demonstrations along the coast-line, while the main columns operated inland. To the originators of the campaign "it was always clear in speculation that the Militia would never stay with Washington or quit their homes if the coast was kept in alarm."³ Moreover it was necessary to clear the shores of the swarm of small privateers that infested the Gulf of Maine and played havoc with the Nova Scotia settlements and the communication between Halifax and New York.⁴ Besides, there were rumors of a secret expedition fitting out at Boston in June, to attack the British fort at the mouth of the St. John's in the Bay of Fundy.⁵ From Halifax, therefore, an expedition was arranged "to Saint John's River to meet the garrison of Fort Cumberland and to proceed to Machias and destroy that nest of pirates, and afterwards to go to the east coast of New England towards Gouldsbury, to cause an alarm in favor of General Burgoyne."⁶ The fleet operations were entrusted to Admiral Collier, and the troops were put under the command of John Small, the efficient organizer of the newly raised corps of Royal Highland Immigrants. For this expe-

¹ iv. J. Almon, *The Remembrancer*, 189.

² Certificate of Major John Small, 8 March, 1778. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

³ Knox to Germain, 31 October, 1778; vi. Historical Manuscript Commission Reports, Various, 153.

⁴ Cf. iv. J. Almon, *The Remembrancer*, 189. E. P. Weaver, "Nova Scotia During the Revolution." x. American Historical Review, 69, etc.

⁵ F. Kidder, *Military Operations in Eastern Maine*, 185.

⁶ Massey to Howe, 26 November, 1777; i. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 156.

dition John Nutting's familiarity with the coast was of evident value, and, according to Small, he "did very chearfully and without any reward offer his Service as a Pilot or in any other way he could be of use for the Publick Service then carrying on;" and although "there was no pay allowed him on that Occasion," showed himself "a deserving good Subject, still ready & willing to exert himself as Such."¹

Through no fault of his, however, the enterprise miscarried. The transports reached their destination with no errors in pilotage that we know of; but, in the words of the disgusted General Massey, commanding at Halifax, "after the Lieut. Governor and I had fix'd every appointment with good Guides at a great Expense for a Grand Stroke and while Major Small was prancing at St. John's River, the place of Rendezvous for the Troops from Cumberland and Windsor Sir George Collier stole out of Halifax, made a futile Attack at Machias, was most shamefully drove from thence . . . which prevented the Eastern Coast of New England from being Alarm'd which was my orders to Major Small, and which if they had been executed might have prevented the Misfortunes that attend'd Lt. Genl. Burgoyne's army, for it was at that critical time."² The jealous and self-sufficient Collier, after some gasconading up and down the coast, retired to St. John's in September, where in October the expedition disintegrated without accomplishing a single one of its objects.

Explanations to the home government were certainly needed, and whether Nutting was entrusted with them, or sent as a witness, or went on his own initiative, is not clear. At all events he sailed immediately for England, taking with him his son John, now a likely lad nearly eight years old. Arriving in the old country, which must have seemed so new to him, he at once sought out his former superiors, the ex-governor and ex-lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, obtained written recommendations from them, dated 28 November, 1777, and drew up a memorial to Lord George Germain.³ This document, compared with the usual lugu-

¹ See note 2, page 70.

² Massey to Howe. Halifax, 15 March, 1778; i. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 209.

³ All to be found in Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

brious recitals of sufferings and insistent claims for compensation for the loss of fat fees or swollen salaries, with which the bulk of the loyalists flooded the government, is remarkably refreshing. After mentioning his undoubted services he states "That your Memorialist has no wish to be supported in Idleness at the Charge of Government, but is willing and desirous to be further serviceable in the way of his Trade; and as Carpenters are wanted at New York, & probably in other parts of America, he is come to England in Hopes of obtaining such employment, & will be very ready to go out immediately, — With this view your Memorialist humbly Solicits your Lordships patronage & for further Information respecting his Character, Services & Sufferings he begs leave to refer your Lordship to the Right Honorable Lord Percy to his Excellency General Gage, to Lieutenant Governor Oliver, and other Officers both Civil and Military to whom the foregoing Transactions are well known."

This memorial was promptly transmitted by William Knox, Germain's under-secretary, to John Robinson of the Treasury Board, who took equally prompt action upon it. It bears the endorsement: "Read 22 Dec. 77 £50 advance & to be recommended to the Com'rs at New York." Such a substantial recognition of a man standing squarely on his own merits, in that heyday of influence and favoritism, shows better than any testimonials what manner of impression Mr. Nutting had already made in official circles.

The fifty pounds was paid, but the recommendation to New York must have been somehow overlooked; for on 28 February, 1778, Nutting addressed another memorial¹ to Lord George, from "78 Lambs Conduit Street," asking for further assistance, as he is still out of employment. This was transmitted by Knox to the Treasury Board on March 16, received April 20, and not read till July 8; it bears the chilly endorsement "Nil." Not waiting for this result, with real Yankee persistence, Nutting addressed, May 8, a personal letter² to Lord North himself, referring to the memorial, and proceeding: "I shall only presume to add, I desire not to eat the bread of Idleness, being able & willing to be em-

¹ Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

² *Ibid.*

ployed, as formerly, in His Majesty's Service, where my Utility & perseverance is well known to the Generals, & Subordinate Officers that have served in America during the War — Many of whom are now in this Metropolis, & to whom I most gladly would Appeal." This direct application to the man "higher up" was successful, though not in quite the manner anticipated, and Nutting received from the Board of Ordnance the appointment of Overseer of His Majesty's works at Landguard Fort.¹

This post, on the outermost verge of the East Anglian coast, protecting the harbor of Harwich, the first considerable estuary north of the Thames, had long been considered of great importance. Just at this period, when war had recently been declared with Holland, it was receiving special attention. The marshy wastes beside it made an admirable proving ground for big guns, as well as an admirable location for a wholesomely impressive display of force. Accordingly from 1776 for a number of years extensive experiments were conducted there on a great many forms of ordnance shipped by water from Woolwich — experiments almost as instructive (though not as dangerous) to the Dutch luggers hovering off the coast as to the manipulators of untried types of the tricky cast-iron cannon of that day. The fort itself was neither as strong nor as commodious² as its importance warranted. During this time it was much enlarged, and also strengthened in flank and rear by a very elaborate system of defence works, under the direction of Lord Townshend, Master General of the Ordnance.³ So extensive were these constructions that two overseers were required. Nutting, however, was the chief, receiving £91.5/- per annum, or five shillings a day, while John Jones, his assistant, had only £73.⁴ As the additions included a number of new barracks, we may well believe that he felt quite in his element.

Yet he found time to show himself in town occasionally, and to

¹ Memorial to the Commissioners, heard at Halifax, 29 December, 1785. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

² In 1777 its complete establishment was only 87 men, all told. viii. J. Almon, Parliamentary Register, 185.

³ J. H. Leslie, History of Landguard Fort, 76 *et seq.* One of the new redoubts was named the Raynham, after his Norfolk county-seat.

⁴ xvi. J. Almon, Parliamentary Register, 511.

cultivate his acquaintance with Knox. With this active and important official he was now on surprisingly intimate terms, whether from the favorable representations of others or from sheer native ability and address. One likes to think the latter, and to imagine the Cambridge carpenter haunting the office of the under-secretary with his petitions and memorials until he comes into notice by his energetic ways, coupled with that winning and persuasive manner that had served him in such good stead one night during the siege of Boston, in a boat on the Charles with four angry journeymen. At any rate, Nutting actually becomes a figure in the councils of the British Empire at one of its greatest crises — an adviser of generals and a *protégé* of lords, — under the following circumstances:

Knox had been from the first obsessed with the importance of planting a British force on the coast of Maine. Besides its effects in distracting attention, a post there, he argued,¹ would give a station for the King's cruisers much nearer than Halifax, would cover the Bay of Fundy and Nova Scotia from molestation by sea, would prevent any land attack on what later became New Brunswick, and would even protect Lower Canada. Furthermore, it would form the nucleus and bulwark for a new province,² towards which might be directed the stream of refugees who were leaving the colonies and already driving the home government to distraction. He had even gone so far as to arrange the details for this modern Canaan. Lying between New England and "New Scotland," it was to be christened New Ireland,³ perhaps in delicate reference to Knox's own nationality. Its governor was to be Thomas Hutchinson, its chief justice Daniel Leonard, its clerk of the council John Calef, the leading local tory, and its bishop (for *this* colony was to have a

¹ Knox to Cooke, Ealing, 27 January, 1808. vi. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, Various, 227.

² The idea was not new. Even the original settlers were anxious, or were represented to be anxious, to have a government of their own, and Bernard fomented the proposition. But wiser heads would have none of it. J. Calef, *Siege of the Penobscot*, Postscript. ii. Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dartmouth Papers, *passim*. Franklin to Cushing, London, 7 July, 1773. vi. B. Franklin, *Writings* (ed. Smyth), 80.

³ This was not the first effort toward the hibernization of Maine. In the previous generation Robert Temple had formed a brilliant but unsuccessful plan to settle an Irish colony near Bath. L. D. Temple, *Some Temple Pedigrees*, 6.

bishop willy-nilly) Dr. Henry Caner, formerly of King's Chapel, Boston. This "most preposterous measure," wrote Hutchinson from London,¹ "... is his own scheme, and few people here think well of it." Germain was at first among the disbelievers, but Knox finally "accomplished what he had been endeavouring" and brought his chief round to his opinion.

Then came the great question: Where should the post be located? Falmouth, Long Island, Townsend, Great Deer Island,—all were under discussion. Here John Nutting was called into the consultation. Mindful of his own "eligible" acres, and doubtless recognizing too the natural strength and strategic advantages² of the place (which events both past and future amply corroborated), with a fine mixture of self-interest and loyalty he suggested Penobscot. Yankee shrewdness and eloquence prevailed. His Majesty's ministers fell in with the suggestion,³ and Nutting, "in Consequence of pointing out Government (by Mr. Knoxes desire) some places that might be taken advantageous to Government was on the 30th August, 1778, ordered from Landguard Fort to London by express to go out with despatches to America . . . from the Right Honorable Lord George Germain's office to Sir Henry Clinton at New York."⁴ His special part in the enterprise was, as he announced openly at London, "to be employed as overseer of carpenters who are to rebuild the Fort at Penobscot,"⁵ originally

¹ T. Hutchinson, Diary, 19 September, 1778, and 20 October, 1779. Hutchinson's name was soon dropped in this connection.

² "The harbor is spacious, accessible, and secure, none in the neighborhood can be compared with it. . . . No country could afford greater supply of masts and spars for the Royal navy. Nor could any station afford equal convenience for annoying in time of war, yea, annihilating the commerce of New England." W. Ballard, "Castine, 1815." ii. Bangor Historical Magazine, 45.

³ The current Boston explanation was that the failure of Massachusetts "to supply the eastern people [with food] as they had done during the war" had produced a disaffection which the local tories had made the most of in persuading the inhabitants generally "to join in a petition to the enemy to come and take possession of the place." James Sullivan to John Sullivan; Boston, 30 August, 1779. ii. T. C. Amory, *Life of James Sullivan*, 376. The explanation suggests a certain guiltiness in the New England conscience.

⁴ Memorial to the Treasury, "Rec'd 13 Mar. 1781." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

⁵ T. Hutchinson, Diary, 3 September, 1778.

erected by the Sieur de Castine, and left in ruins when the French abandoned that district in 1745.¹

But in the execution of this ingenious method of protecting his cherished property "to the Eastward" an incidental *divertissement* of some magnitude awaited its author. Leaving John Jr. at school in London, and receiving his despatches dated at Whitehall 2 September, 1778,² he posted down to Falmouth and embarked, with £50 worth of "Sea Stock necessary for the Voyage" and "some valuable Books on Fortification & Architecture and Instruments,"³ aboard the *Harriet*, one of the government mail packets.⁴ A fortnight out, having got no farther than lat. 49° long. 22°, they were sighted by the brigantine *Vengeance*, American privateer, Wingate Newman of Newburyport master. He at once gave chase.⁵ The *Harriet* was a fast sailer, as befitted her employment, but the Yankee was a larger ship, specially fitted for her business, and brand new to boot. After a six hours' pursuit Newman got within range and opened fire. Sampson Sprague, commander of the packet, replied gallantly, but his little three-pounders and crew of forty-five were no match for the six-pounders and the hundred men of the privateer. Within pistol-shot the lat-

¹ Cf. G. A. Wheeler, *History of Castine*. J. Williamson, *History of Maine*, etc.

² i. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, *American Manuscripts*, 284.

³ Account annexed to memorial to Treasury, "Rec'd 13 Mar. 1781." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

⁴ This craft had quite a prominent part in the transport and mail service. She is frequently mentioned in contemporary documents.

⁵ 17 September, 1778. Members of both ships' companies have left accounts of this affair. For the American, see *Journal of Samuel Nye*, Surgeon of the *Vengeance*, E. V. Smith, *History of Newburyport*, 116: for the English, see affidavit of Ab'm Forst, Halifax, 15 January, 1784. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London. I suspect this Forst, like Rust, was one of Nutting's loyal apprentices who followed his master's fortunes. If we can twist the name into Abraham Frost, we not only have the Cambridge man, born 1754, enumerated by L. R. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 554-555, but also have an explanation why "this fam. prob. rem. as no further trace of them is found." For other details of the capture of the *Harriet*, see i. J. J. Currier, *History of Newburyport, Mass.*, 629. *London Chronicle*, 22-24 October, 1778: E. S. Maclay, *History of American Privateers*, 117. C. H. Lincoln, *Naval Records of the American Revolution*, 113.

ter threw in a broadside that obliged the *Harriet* to strike, having one man killed and six wounded. Among the latter was Nutting, whom we can well imagine in the very thick of the fight, for he was hit "in four places."¹ Nevertheless he managed to sink his despatches, which he "declared were of great consequence to him," as indeed they were. The mails also were thrown overboard just in time. The *Harriet's* people were taken aboard the *Vengeance*, stripped of their effects, and landed at Corunna,² the nearest point on the Spanish coast, but a most unusual prize port. By an agreement³ between the British Consul there and Captain Newman the prisoners were exchanged and allowed to pass unmolested to England again. In about six weeks Nutting accordingly arrived at Falmouth once more (fare twelve guineas), having lost £120 worth of personal outfit, and being put to an expense of £20 for surgeons, nurses and medical attendance, and wended his way by postchaise (fare £15) back to London.⁴ It was now too late in the season to do anything more about New Ireland. Even Knox, its sponsor, wrote: "Poor Nutting and the Penobscott orders have missed their way for this year, and I fear something will happen to prevent our taking possession of that country in the spring."⁵

All the same, he determined to have another try at his plan, and to have it early and by the same hands. In the beginning of January, 1779, Mr. Nutting received a fresh set of despatches, and was "order'd out again to America the second time before his Wounds

¹ Claimant's evidence before the Commissioners, Halifax, 29 December, 1785. xiii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 298. Public Library, New York City.

² It is a strange freak that makes John Nutting's wanderings intersect the military termini of Sir John Moore, who entered active service at Penobscot and left it at Corunna. British Plutarch, 243.

³ 1 October, 1778. i. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 307. It is a family tradition that Nutting's high rank in Freemasonry procured his "escape" from a Spanish prison. W. F. Parker, *Life of Daniel McNeill Parker*, 12. But while this advantage may account for various other fortunate turns in his history, it does not need to be invoked here.

⁴ Account of Expenses annexed to memorial to the Treasury, "Rec'd 13 Mar. 1781." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

⁵ Knox to Germain. Bath, 31 October, 1778. vi. Historical Manuscripts Commission Report, Various, 153-4.

were well, experiencing a long and tedious Passage of fourteen Weeks to New York, on the *Grampus* ship of war"¹ (this time taking a safer conveyance). Clinton had by now got general intimations of the plan, and some correspondence² had passed between him and General McLean, the new commander at Halifax, on the subject. McLean was personally ignorant³ of the shore-line, and had been consulting Captain Mowatt, his naval officer. The latter recommended taking post at Falmouth, the scene of his most notorious exploit, to which he doubtless longed to give the finishing touches. Detailed instructions, however, were brought by Nutting, and Clinton, by orders dated 13 April,⁴ directed McLean to proceed and fortify a post on Penobscot River, — rather to the disappointment of all the officers concerned.

McLean seems to have put full confidence in the "cheerful Pilot," and prompt preparations were made. On May 16th the detachment was reported ready. At the end of that month the transports sailed, covered by Mowatt and a few inefficient men-of-war. In the middle of June the fleet came up Penobscot Bay, and after several days' general reconnoissance cast anchor off the little peninsula that ever since 1506 had been a recognized strategic centre round which an almost continuous struggle for supremacy had revolved.⁵

On the 26th the landing began, the troops looking about them "as frightened as a flock of sheep,"⁶ and John Nutting doubtless hastened to inspect his farm, woodland, and mill, now to be so handsomely protected against possible rebel molestation. Yet he could give little time to his private affairs just then, for the mil-

¹ Memorial to the Treasury, "Rec'd 18 Mar. 1781." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

² i. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 381, 393, etc.

³ This ignorance was merely practical, for the magnificent series of charts by Des Barres had already been published.

⁴ i. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 415. See also 486, 458, etc., for many of the following details.

⁵ Cf. G. F. Clark, "Military Operations at Castine," Worcester Society of Antiquity, Proceedings for 1889, 18 — a good general account of all the martial doings there, including a far earlier attack and repulse of the Massachusetts forces.

⁶ "Hutchings's Narrative." G. A. Wheeler, History of Castine, 322.

itary position must be made good at once. "The Provisions, Artillery and Engineer Stores and the equipage of the troops, being landed on the Beach, must be carried to the Ground of the fort chiefly by the labor of the men against the ascent, there being only a Couple of small teams to Assist in it. The ground & all the Avenues to it, was to be examined, cleared from wood, and at the same time guarded. Materials were to be collected & prepared, And the defences, as well as every convenience of the fort, were to be reared."¹ The ruins of the French fort were apparently disregarded, and an entirely new one was laid out. The official engineer was Captain Hartcup;² but his plans proved defective and had to be altered, probably by the master-carpenter. There were other delays too, and it was July 2d before the lines were actually staked and work begun.³ The local inhabitants were divided in their attitude, as everywhere else. Some stoutly proclaimed their adherence to the United States of America, and when approached with the oath of allegiance made good their words by packing their scanty possessions and departing into the backwoods. Others to the number of a hundred showed their willingness by assisting to clear the ground round the fort, etc. A simple rectangular structure of logs and earthwork two hundred feet on a side⁴ with corner bastions and a central blockhouse was laid out, a "shade" erected for the provisions, the powder "lodged in covered holes dug in the proposed glacis," a ditch cut across the isthmus, and the work pushed forward with a will.

The expected attack was not long in coming. Of the consternation and indignation of Massachusetts at this invasion of her territory, of the feverish fitting-out of the Penobscot Expedition, "by far the largest naval undertaking of the Revolution made by the Americans," there is no need to tell here in detail. Well

¹ Mowatt's "Relation," *Magazine of History*, Extra Number 11 (1910), 49.

² Elsewhere spelled, and doubtless pronounced, Hardcap. In like manner Mowatt becomes Moat; and Calef masquerades as Calf. Rather oddly, Hartcup's next assignment was to Landguard Fort. i. W. Porter, *History of the Corps of Royal Engineers*, 215.

³ McLean to Clinton, Camp at Majebigwaduce, 23 August, 1779. ii. *Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports*, *American Manuscripts*, 14.

⁴ This was the inside measurement. That mentioned by Beillard — 14 perches (— 231 feet) — was evidently the measurement outside the glacis.

known too is the story of the arrival of that formidable Yankee fleet off the little peninsula before the fort was half completed, the extraordinary indecision of the ensuing siege, and its shameful termination. "Rarely has a more ignominious military operation been made by Americans. Had it been successful, it would not have been worth the effort it cost. Its object had no national significance; it was an eccentric operation. Bad in conception, bad in preparation, bad in execution, it naturally ended in disaster and disgrace."¹ "A prodigious wreck of property, a dire eclipse of reputation, and universal chagrin were the fruits of this expedition, in the promotion of which there had been such an exalted display of public spirit both by government and individuals."² Among the twenty transports destroyed was the whole trading fleet of the State. Destroyed also were thirteen privateers, temporarily taken into the State service. Among these was the *Vengeance*, then in command of Captain Thomas; and though the phrase "poetic justice" may not have been known to Mr. Nutting, the sight of his old captor blazing and crackling on the Penobscot flats must have been the sweetest moment of the campaign to her ex-prisoner.³

Concerned as we are with but one figure in the story, we must admit that the master-carpenter all this time seems to have lain extremely low. Indeed, for the only time in his history it is recorded that his workmen did not "pay proper attention" to him. We get one glimpse of him accompanying a party sent for lumber up the Bagaduce River, perhaps to his own wood-lot.⁴ But his

¹ C. O. Paullin, *The Navy of the American Revolution*, 347, 352.

² ii. J. Williamson, *History of Maine*, 476. In the opinion of well-informed British officers taking part in this affair the results strikingly justified many of Knox's theories. "The attack on Penobscot . . . was positively the severest blow received by the American Naval force during the War. The trade to Canada, which was intended, after the expected reduction of the Post of Penobscot, to be intercepted by this very armament, went safe that Season: The New England Provinces did not for the remaining period of the contest recover the loss of Ships, and the Expence of fitting out the Expedition: Every thought of attempting Canada, & Nova Scotia, was thenceforth laid aside, and the trade & Transports from the Banks of Newfoundland along the Coast of Nova Scotia, &c: enjoyed unusual Security." Captain Henry Mowatt's "Relation," *Magazine of History*, Extra Number 11 (1910), 53.

³ E. S. Maclay, *History of American Privateers*, 118.

⁴ *Orderly Book of William Lawrence, Serjeant Royal Artillery*, July 17,

peculiarly personal interest in the occupation and defence of the place had of course transpired, and when during the siege things seemed almost hopeless for His Majesty's forces¹ his situation was one demanding as much self-effacement as his nature was capable of. In a subsequent enumeration of his sufferings at Penobscot he mentions not only "enduring a Seige of Twenty Days, the fatigues of establishing a New Fort," but also "the part he had to act, and the reflexions thrown out against him by numbers of the officers when they were informed your Memorialist was the cause of their being carried there, under an idea that he had sold them to the Rebels, with the anxiety that must attend him, is more sensibly felt than expressed."² His attitude even partook of duplicity. Admiral Collier wrote to General Clinton, August 24, 1779, after the smoke of battle had somewhat cleared away, expressing his strong disapprobation of establishing a post at this dreary rebellious place, and adding: "That fellow Nutting whom yr. Exc'y remembers at New York has just been with me on a message; I asked him what could possibly induce him to recommend the establishing a settlement in such a place, & what advantages might be expected from it? He denied his having ever recommended the measure to Lord G. Germain, nor could I learn from him what particular benefits would accrue to us, by keeping possession of so infernal a spot."³

Nevertheless, the value of Nutting's aid was officially and handsomely recognized. McLean certified that he "served under my 1779, and August 30. v. Bangor Historical Magazine, 146 *et seq.* A typical smack of the region is given in the disagreeable orders for September 17, that the commissary must thereafter "deliver out rice in lieu of pies."

¹ When the provincials effected their first landing on the peninsula, McLean was so sure all was up that he stood by the flagstaff halliards himself, ready to strike his colors. "Hutchings's Narrative." G. A. Wheeler, *History of Castine*, 323. Cf. a racy letter from E. Hazard, Jamaica Plain, 22 March, 1780. iv. *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 129.

² Memorial to the Treasury, "Rec'd 13 Mar. 1781." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

³ ii. *Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts*, 18. In his more self-assertive and characteristic moments he made no bones of claiming, in true carpenter's spelling, that "that Expedition was planed at his Recommendation." Testimony before the Commissioners. xiii. *American Loyalists Transcripts*, 298. Public Library, New York City.

Command on the Expedition to Penobscot much to my satisfaction, on my taking post there. I appointed him Overseer of Works, which duty he performed with Zeal and fidelity to the King's service."¹ General Campbell, who was left in command of the place, "in consideration of his Attachment to His Majesty's Government," made a "Gratuius Grant" to Mrs. Nutting of "a lot of Land to settle upon . . . on the N. E. Side of y^e Road Leading to Fort George, formerly the Property of Joseph Pirkins now in Rebellion."² As it was evident that he could not return to Cambridge, the Overseer seems to have regarded this lot in the light of a homestead; upon it he built a house which he valued at £150.

The success of this little invasion was quite extraordinary.³ It was so dwelt upon by the British, who had not overmuch in that line to offer, that it drew the satire of Horace Walpole on the "destruction of a whole navy of walnut shells at a place as well known as Pharsalia called Penobscot,"⁴ and sundry ingenious gentlemen came forward to share the honor of its authorship or to offer suggestions for improving on the situation.⁵ It was a bitter pill for the pride of the old Bay State, and the fiasco which had permitted it to continue was as a draught of wormwood to wash it down withal. Baffled and resourceless, the Massachusetts Council bethought themselves of the great provincial panacea, and rushed blindly for aid to the one man who never lost his head. Washington in a stern letter, dated 17 April, 1780, pointed out the impossibility of any successful recapture of the place in the then desperate circumstances of the whole military establishment. No troops could be spared except the militia, who, he cuttingly observed, if defeated,

¹ Certificate, Halifax, 16 May, 1780. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

² Fort George, Penobscot, 21 June, 1781. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

³ Cf. i. T. Jones, New York during the Revolution, 297.

⁴ Walpole to Countess of Ossory, 24 September, 1779.

⁵ The domineering Col. Thomas Goldthwait hastened to New York to offer his services to Clinton in raising a regiment to defend the post. ii. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 20, 45. He wrote to Admiral Arbuthnot to the same effect. ii. H. M. C. R., Stopford-Sackville Papers, 149. Strange to say, he too owned extensive tracts in the vicinity. ix. Maine Historical Magazine, 28.

would "escape with difficulty, no doubt with disgrace." Nor, he reminded them, could such an attempt be made without a naval force, the total lack of which (thanks to themselves, he might have added) was fast becoming a fatal defect on the American side.¹

Luckily for the republicans that indispensable factor was soon supplied by their French allies. During the spring of 1781, while the British fleet was busy in the Chesapeake and the French squadron idle at Newport, the Massachusetts men saw a golden opportunity. Their proposals were favorably received by Destouches, who agreed to furnish five vessels, while Rochambeau was to supply six hundred infantry, for an attack on Penobscot. Massachusetts was to contribute a force of militia, but broke down; and Washington quietly advised Rochambeau to put no trust in this part of the agreement, but to proceed himself as speedily and secretly as possible. After much preparation Destouches decided that the naval risk was too great, and all was abandoned.²

Yet the instinct of Massachusetts was that of the she-bear robbed of her cub. The next summer Vaudreuil anchored his great fleet in Nantasket Roads, and Governor Hancock appealed to him to strike a *coup de main* at "that troublesome post" whither John Nutting had led the King's troops. The admiral seemed to approve, and the governor made some preparations on his own account. But the general of the allies disapproved, and Washington supported his view. Thus for the fourth time was Massachusetts foiled in her attempt to regain the conquered portion of her own territory.³

Still, regularly as the year came round, the thoughts of the Bay State turned to Penobscot. On 8 February, 1783, the Legislature addressed a letter to Washington on the same old subject, "a post too beneficial to them and too dangerous to the safety of this and the other states in the Union to suffer us to remain indifferent, passive observers of their measures." With a doubtful regard for historical accuracy, the writers represented that since the defeat of the State expedition "our whole attention from that period to the present has been drawn from our own and fixed on the more

¹ Washington to President of Congress, 17 April, 1780.

² Washington to Rochambeau, 10 April, 1781. Cf. viii. J. Sparks, Writings of Washington, 10, note.

³ Washington to Hancock, 10 August, 1782.

dangerous and distressed situation" of the more southern colonies, but "that as the enemy have now left the southern states, and as there is no particular object that seems to engage the attention of the army," it would be a good time to send enough regiments "to dispossess the enemy or at least such a number as will confine them to their present possessions," as "we are apprehensive that they will in the spring take possession of the river Kennebeck."¹

Washington patiently replied that if peace was soon declared there would be no need of further attention to Penobscot; but if not, all efforts must be concentrated in a final attack on New York. And Massachusetts had to rest content with his suggestive statement that he should always be ready to concur in any "judicious" plan for retaking the eastern frontiers, "a territory whose utility is very deeply impressed upon me."²

Amidst these wars and rumors of wars the garrison at Penobscot were constantly on the alert. They continued their defensive works until "the viperine nest,"³ as the patriots feelingly termed it, was reported to be "the most regularly constructed and best finished of any in America."⁴ Frequent forays were made into the surrounding settlements, and not a few distinguished Sons of Liberty were temporarily deprived of their birthright and placed in durance vile at the central blockhouse.⁵ Several of these energetic gentry, however, contrived to penetrate Mr. Nutting's handiwork and depart in peace, if not with honor. Use also was made of the excellent harbor. The naval force was constantly changing. Vessels of war, transports, victuallers, privateers, and their prizes,

¹ Massachusetts Archives, 44 "Court Records," 304.

² Head Quarters, Newburgh, 22 Feb. 1783. Massachusetts Archives, "Letters, 1780-1788," 136.

³ i. Maine Historical Society Collections and Proceedings, 2d Series, 397.

⁴ Washington to Vaudrenil, 10 August, 1782.

⁵ Among them, General Cushing, of Pownalboro, General Wadsworth, of Thomaston, Daniel, brother of General Sullivan, etc. See Calef, Wheeler, Williamson, etc. It is an instructive example of the astounding distortion of the average American "history," to note the shrieks of protest against the *inhumanities* and *outrages* practised by the British — how Mowatt once threatened a rebellious native with his sword, etc. — while brutalities of the Colonials, like Wadsworth's summary hanging of a miserable half-witted tory guide, are passed over in silence, or condoned as unfortunate necessities of war.

made the scene busy and occasionally exciting; as when the dash-
ing Preble, in a night attack, cut out an English brig lying close to
shore and escaped without a scratch,¹ or Capt. George Little, by a
daring stratagem, accomplished a similar feat.²

During this period many loyalists removed to this haven of ref-
uge, and a sort of New Ireland *de facto* began to take shape. By
the end of the war the settlement had grown from half a dozen
huts to thirty-seven houses, some of two stories, with wharves,
stores, etc., all the product of loyal hands.³ Another petition was
sent to England asking to have the separate government estab-
lished.⁴ The authority of Massachusetts, despite her asseverations,
was so thoroughly broken that "no place eastward of Penobscot
was called upon for taxes or contributions after this [expedition]
till the close of the war"; although this exemption was carefully
explained as due to tender consideration of the sufferings the in-
habitants underwent from the British.⁵

In brief, then, futile as the original idea may have been in theory,
in practice the occupation of Penobscot had turned out a surpris-
ing success; Knox, with some show of reason, plumed himself
upon "my plan" and its results.⁶

And how fared John Nutting, the humble *causa causans* of it
all? During the winter and spring of 1779-80 he seems to have
been pretty well occupied with the care of his own and his Majesty's
property at Castine. His wife had joined him there soon after
the siege, and there little Sophia Elizabeth was born, 23 Septem-
ber, 1780.⁷ But farming and small garrison work were too tame

¹ J. Williamson, "British Occupation of Penobscot." i. Maine Historical
Society Collections and Proceedings, 2d Series, 395.

² "Hutchings's Narrative." G. A. Wheeler, History of Castine, 327. i. C.
Eaton, History of Thomaston, Maine, 134. Cf. payment of 24 May, 1781, "To
Lieut. Col. Archibald Campbell of the 71st foot, for the losses sustained by the
George transport being taken by the rebels £39. 18. =," xxiv. J. Almon, Parlia-
mentary Register, 639. From the same source we learn that £21 was consid-
ered sufficient remuneration "to Capt. Alexander Campbell of the 74th foot
for the cure of his thigh, which was broke at Penobscott, in June, 1779."

³ 145 Massachusetts Archives, 377.

⁴ J. Calef, Siege of the Penobscot, 40.

⁵ ii. J. Williamson, History of Maine, 481, note.

⁶ ii. W. Knox, Extra-Official State Papers, 60.

⁷ Nutting Papers. She married Michael B. Grant, 10 July, 1800, and bore
him eight children ere his death in 1817. She herself died in 1862.

for our budding strategist, and encouraged by the local sentiment he began to nurse the idea of repeating his former success with the ministry. General McLean also had theories of his own for the military dispositions along the Maine coast; between the two, if appearances are to be trusted, another scheme was hatched for the favorable consideration of Mr. Knox. At least, in the spring of 1780, Nutting, "by the General's particular advice and recommendation, Embarked again for England,"¹ where he soon announced that he had "laid a Plan before the Right Honourable Lord George Germain which if put into Execution he is clear would be of the greatest Utility to Government."²

The details of that plan do not appear. We may have an echo of it in the insistence with which Germain the next winter urged upon Clinton the ministry's favorite scheme for the disposition of the throngs of Tories at New York: "Many . . . are desirous of being settled in the country about Penobscot . . . and, as it is proposed to settle that country, and this appears a cheap method of disposing of these loyalists, it is wished you would encourage them to go there under the protection of the Associated Refugees, and assure them that a civil government will follow them in due time; for I hope, in the course of the summer, the admiral and you will be able to spare a force sufficient to effect an establishment at Casco Bay, and reduce that country to the King's obedience."³ At all events the imminence of this projected attack on Portland was sufficient to cause some very earnest preparations to be made by the inhabitants there.⁴

It may have been only a coincidence, but soon after Nutting's arrival in London an astonishing impetus was given to the whole New Ireland scheme. Germain wrote to Knox, 7 August, 1780: "I hope *New Ireland* continues to employ your thoughts: the

¹ Memorial to the Commissioners, heard at Halifax, 29 December, 1785. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

² Memorial to the Treasury, "Rec'd 13 Mar. 1781." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

³ Whitehall, 7 March, 1781 (intercepted). viii. J. Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, 521.

⁴ Campbell to Clinton, Ft. George, Penobscot, 15 March, 1781. ii. *Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts*, 258. Cf. ii. J. Williamson, *History of Maine*, 481, etc.

more I think of Oliver (Chief Justice of Massachuset's Bay), for governor, the more I like him. . . . I wish we might prepare some plan for the consideration of the Cabinet."¹ A hint was enough for Knox, and with suspicious speed the plan was produced. Four days later a full-blown constitution for the new province was a reality,² and Germain wrote: "*The King approves of the plan . . . likes Oliver for Governor, so it may be offered him. He approves of Leonard for Chief Justice.*"³ Yet here a most provoking obstacle arose. Wedderburn, the Attorney-General, in a pet, according to to the disgruntled Knox,⁴ at seeing his legal rival, Lord Thurlow, raised to the peerage before himself,⁵ refused to sanction the proposition, declaring that no new province could be interposed between two old ones whose charters gave them a coterminous boundary.

Whether Nutting had much or little to do with all this, he reached England unfortunately "at the time of the Riots in London,"⁶ was detained contrary to his expectation, and received a peremptory order from Lord Townsend to proceed immediately to Landguard Fort. His Lordship being pleased to declare that Your Memorialist could not be spared out of the Kingdom at that time."⁷ Work at Landguard was then in full swing, as the English coast towns were not only threatened by the Dutch and Spanish fleets but still sweating from the fear of that boggy-man of the sea, John P. Jones.

Thus side-tracked among the East Anglian marshes, his finances being again very low, "having expended the whole of his pay, and

¹ W. Knox, Extra-Official State Papers. ii. Appendix, 82.

² Discussed and compared in x. G. Bancroft, History of the United States, 368.

³ W. Knox, Extra-Official State Papers, ii. Appendix, 83.

⁴ Knox to Cooke, Ealing, 27 January, 1808. vi. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, Various, 228.

⁵ This explanation seems a bit tenuous. The invidious promotion had been made over two years before, and Wedderburn was himself by this time safely within the charmed circle as Baron Loughborough. Still, there were doubtless wheels within wheels.

⁶ The Gordon Riots began 2 June, 1780.

⁷ Memorial to the Commissioners, heard 29 December, 1785. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

being considerably more indebted than when he set out which he is wholly unable to pay although he has used the greatest Oeconomy, not being able to return a Compliment of asking a Friend to Dinner," Nutting composed a memorial¹ to the Treasury Board, asking for reimbursement for £394 worth of expenses incurred since leaving Landguard in 1778, "with such other gratuity, as your Lordships shall think fit." This he followed up by a straightforward letter² to Robinson, Secretary of the Treasury, who it appears had made a "kind promis to speak to My Lord North" in his behalf. Herein he begs for "one hundred or even seventy pounds" which "would set me free from that anxieity of mind every honest man ought to have to pay his Just depts though incurred for the service of Government." He refers for his "carecure, & sêrvices," to "the Rt. Hon'bl Lord Germain, or Mr. Knox; to whom I have the honour to be well known." He was evidently determined that the family orthography should improve, for he adds a "P. P. (*sic*) the berer is my son who is at school in London, & shall wait on your honour when most convenient, for an answare."

That "answare" was long in coming. The frightfully overburdened treasury did not reach action on this appeal till a year and a half later. Then, after various wanderings in the official maze, it was returned to "Sir" Grey Cooper, the new Secretary of the Treasury, by the ever-friendly Knox, with the statement that "£300 is judged a proper compensation for Mr. Nutting's extraordinary expenses."³ This sum the Treasury would consent to pay only on *receiving back* the £150 already allowed Nutting as an American sufferer, "to be applied again to the payment of American sufferers."⁴

Ere this the ministry had changed and Nutting's old patrons were no longer in power. But he had already secured new ones — among them the Duke of Richmond, Master General of Ordnance. By that dignitary, soon after his exchequer had received the above addition,

¹ Endorsed: "Rec'd 18 Mar. 1781." Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 75, Public Record Office, London.

² Landguard Fort, 5 October, 1780. *Ibidem*.

³ Knox to Cooper, Whitehall, 14 March, 1782. *Ibidem*.

⁴ Endorsements on above memorial.

and "as soon as the disturbances subsided," he was appointed engineer,¹ and was once again ordered out to New York, taking John Junior with him, "to follow such Directions as he might receive from His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton."² His arrival is chronicled in a letter from Carleton to his Grace dated 17 November, 1782: "Mr. Nutting and his son, whom Your Grace mentioned to me, are arrived here. I shall immediately employ the father according to his wish at Penobscot (*sic*), and as soon as an opportunity offers, provide for the son who I have in the meantime directed shall serve under the Chief Engineer, who will take care of him."³ The commander-in-chief acted with a promptness that shows how much "influence" was behind the Cambridge man. A few days later his pecuniary cloud showed a further silver lining in the shape of a payment of another £100 "for services to Government";⁴ and on 1 December, young John was satisfactorily provided for, by an appointment as Second Lieutenant in the Royal Artillery.⁵

Nutting's wish to be employed at Penobscot was quite understandable, but more serious matters were afoot, matters too in which he was specially qualified to assist. Carleton was facing the question of what to do with the loyalists. For years they had been concentrating on New York, which on their account was actually held by the British beyond the intended date of surrender.⁶ The humane general was doing all he could temporarily for the thousands of unfortunates, but the only possible solution of the problem of their final disposal was to send them to the province still loyal like them-

¹ So at least he says in his memorial to the Commissioners, heard 29 December, 1785. Probably a "practitioner engineer," a rank then just going out of use. Cf. i. W. Porter, *History of the Royal Engineers*, 202. The family tradition is that he was a captain in that corps, but his name is not found under that heading in the Army Lists and the title is probably confused with his son's. At all events, he seems to have soon quit the job. See *post*.

² Memorial above, Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

³ iii. Historical Manuscripts Commission, *American Manuscripts*, 226.

⁴ 22 November, 1782. *Idem*, 284.

⁵ Army Lists. He at first appears as James Nutting, by an obvious error. 24 March, 1791, he was promoted First Lieutenant, and 1 October, 1795, "Captain Lieutenant and Captain." He apparently sold out in 1797.

⁶ iii. R. Hildreth, *History of the United States*, 439.

selves to the king.¹ The movement to deport them to Nova Scotia began in the autumn of 1782. It soon reached proportions really alarming: during the ensuing twelvemonth nearly 80,000 souls were estimated to have arrived at Halifax, Annapolis, Port Roseway, St. John's, etc.² The first requisite for these poor exiles was shelter. "They have applied to me," wrote Governor Parr, "to be provided with a Sufficiency of Boards for Erecting small houses to put them under Shelter after their arrival, as such a Provision is indispensably necessary & out of their power to make."³ In his next letter he speaks of the great want of working people. This scarcity of boards⁴ and building material is mentioned in almost every one of Parr's letters home during 1783. "Another very Considerable Article of Expence My Lord will be the Lumber purchased from the Unavoidable Necessity of Providing these people with some Kind of Shelter & Habitation; for although they might in some Degree have provided themselves with Materials from the Woods yet without some Allowance of Boards their Dwellings would be Wretched & Miserable, I cannot Ascertain the Expence already incur'd on this Account, but from what is Known it amounts to about £3500."⁵

Here, in short, was the same old field ripe again for John Nutting's best-known talents, and he very soon found himself ordered to report at Halifax once more.⁶ The conditions were curiously like those he had faced in 1776. There was the same uncertainty

¹ Little could these poor refugees foresee that by their very exile they were to perform a still incalculable service to their sovereign and his successors. It is now reckoned that nothing but the vast increase they gave to the population and prestige of Nova Scotia induced the ministry to consider retaining that despised remnant of the American possessions, — yet the nucleus of the present Dominion of Canada! E. P. Weaver, "Nova Scotia during the Revolution." x. American Historical Review, 71.

² Parr to North, Halifax, 20 November, 1783. 47 Provincial Archives, Halifax.

³ Parr to Townshend, Halifax, 15 January, 1783. *Ibid.*

⁴ Some of the loyalists before leaving for Halifax "even tore down their houses to take the material to the wilderness for new homes." A. C. Flick, *Loyalism in New York during the American Revolution*, 188.

⁵ Parr to North, Halifax, 21 October, 1783. 47 Provincial Archives, Halifax.

⁶ Memorial to the Commissioners, heard at Halifax, 29 December, 1785. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

and confusion, the same lack of supplies, the same wintry distress for the same class of true-hearted, tenderly-nurtured refugees, many of them fresh from the warm southern colonies. "It is a most unlucky Season for these unfortunate people to come to this Climate," remarks Parr in November. And a little later, "I cannot better describe the Wretched Situation of those people, than by inclosing your Lordship a list of those Just arrived in the Clinton Transport, destitute of almost everything: Chiefly Women & Children all still on board, as I have not yet been Able to find any Sort of place for them & the Cold Setting in Severe."¹

We must therefore again picture the master carpenter struggling to procure workmen and materials for the "indispensable" little huts into which the poor refugees were only too thankful to crowd themselves. Much of his work must have been of a supervisory and instructive sort — helping the new settlers to help themselves, explaining the mysteries of saw and hammer to the former aristocrats of New York and Philadelphia, illustrating the theory of framing to the mob-harried ex-officials, broken professional men, and ruined merchant princes of that dolorous company. For there was now one great difference from the conditions of seven years before. This time nothing lay beyond. Halifax was not a mere point of transshipment, but a terminus; it was all too certain that there would and could be no return; the new arrivals were to become permanent settlers to live and die in the Nova Scotia wilderness.

For this reason the allotment of regular lands to the loyalists was another necessity, and a considerable force of surveyors pushed out into the forests and barrens of the back country, followed as fast as possible by the wretched army of grantees. Nutting must have made many a journey to the new settlements to assist in the house-building problems there. When it came to his own allotment the persuasive Yankee land-speculator drove his usual good bargain. Whether from the representations of his influential patrons at home, or from his own importance in the community, he²

¹ Parr to North, Halifax, 15 January, 1784, 47 Provincial Archives, Halifax.

² Warrant dated 7 September, 1783. 14 Crown Grants, 8. Crown Grants Office, Halifax. The exact location, close to the 1000 acres of "Commissary Roger Johnston," is shown on an ancient traced map in the office, marked "Avon River to Tinney Cape." It was a long narrow strip running back from the water, to give the advantages of both upland and foreshore.

received a large tract, 2,000 acres,¹ of the rich soil on the southern shore of the beautiful Basin of Minas, near the present town of Newport, and conveniently close to Halifax itself, the provincial metropolis, "yielding & paying to His Majesty . . . a free yearly quit rent of one farthing per Acre."

He did not at once remove to this domain, however, still being busy with his government work. About this time, according to family traditions,² he was constructing at Halifax the "Old Chain Battery" near the entrance of the Northwest Arm of the harbor. This, with the chain-boom which it commanded, stretching across the entrance to the Arm, was designed to protect the city from attack in the rear. Perhaps it was during the progress of the work that his daughter Mercy (named for her paternal grandmother) was born on George's Island in the harbor, 8 July, 1785.³

These multifarious occupations, nevertheless, presented nothing either novel or exciting, and he had already begun to grow restive under his "daily and constant attendance on duty," and to make efforts towards bettering his official, or at least his financial position. To that end he had addressed Carleton in quaint yet illuminating phrases: "Penetrated with the most indelible Caractures for the past favours — I humbly beg that I may be pardoned for this intrusion also. . . . The Commander in Chief is not unacquainted with my expectations, in coming out to America with him nor likewise with my disagreeable and unstable situation at this place . . . for a Virtuous and affectionate Wife, and four amible Children,⁴ who are entirely dependant on me for their subsistance, that have always had a sufficiency if not affulgence till this time. . . . I have spent upwards of eight years, the prime of my Life to support Government I have served faithfully spilt my blood, and at this moment feel the pain of my wounds which I received four years since, all which I have losst, and endured for the support of the

¹ The usual grant was 200 acres to a single man, 500 to a family, 1000 to a field officer in a loyalist regiment, etc. A. C. Flick, *Loyalism in New York during the American Revolution*, 190.

² W. F. Parker, *Life of Daniel McNeill Parker*, 12.

³ Nutting Papers. She died young.

⁴ Elizabeth, James, and Susanna must therefore all have died during the wanderings and exposures of the war, leaving John, Mary No. 2, Mercy (who died the next year), and little Sophia Elizabeth.

Government of Great Britain. I humbly pray that the General in his great humanity penetration and goodness, would be pleased to take my Case into his consideration and appoint me survayor of Lumber for his Majesty's works in this province at 5/- per Day which is the same I had at Penobscott, in addition to my pay as overseer . . . in lieu of being Engineer or any thing in my expectations preecedent, and indeed will prevent my being under the necessity of troubling my Friends in England, or your Excellency any further on Government account."¹ Evidently the friends in England were not to be disregarded, for in due course came the desired appointment,² and "with a Salary of 10/- per Diem."³

As a respectable official and a considerable landowner in Nova Scotia, John Nutting would now have had little to worry him, had not the fate of his Penobscot property been wavering in the balance. The peace commissioners were at loggerheads over the eastern boundary between the American and the British possessions. Should it be the Penobscot River or the St. Croix? Long and stubborn was the controversy, but we may almost fancy poor Nutting's bad luck in real estate as tipping the scale at last. Early in January,⁴ 1784, the barracks and store-houses that had cost him so much labor were emptied and fired, and the King's troops "reluctantly" — most reluctantly — abandoned Penobscot Fort, the last

¹ Nutting to Carleton, Halifax, 10 May, 1783. iv. Papers in the Royal Institution, 411. (New York Public Library Transcripts.) *Précis* in iv. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 76.

² "from Colonel Morse of the Engineers . . . dated 23^d December 1783." xiii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 299. Public Library, New York City.

³ xxviii. *Idem*, 198.

⁴ In spite of its romantic interest, the exact date seems still unknown. J. Williamson, "British Occupation of Penobscot." i. Maine Historical Society Collections, 2d Series, 398 *et seq.* Carleton had ordered evacuation, with "no delay," more than three months before, and so notified Hancock. iv. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, American Manuscripts, 378, 391. But like a spoiled child, Massachusetts, once her object was within her grasp, almost refused to take it. Local tradition asserts that the importance of the place induced the ministry to send orders to delay the evacuation till the American government had complied with the various articles of the treaty, but that these orders did not arrive till after the garrison had set sail, and nearly reached Halifax. W. Ballard, "Castine, 1815." ii. Bangor Historical Magazine, 51.

post they held on American soil, and New Ireland became one more province in the realm of might-have-been. According to Mr. Secretary Knox,¹ the place never would have been evacuated at all, but would have remained to mark the seaward end of the British boundary-line, had not the jealousy of Wedderburne and the ignorance of Shelburne allowed it slip out of their hands and fixed the American terminus at Eastport instead.² Luckily for Massachusetts she had John Adams on the board of treaty commissioners, and his insistent diplomacy achieved what five warlike attempts had failed in.

The statesman mourned for a province *in posse*: the carpenter mourned for good acres *in esse*. His Cambridge property was already hopelessly lost, and it needs but a modicum of imagination to picture his chagrin at beholding his cherished farm on the Bagaduce, his recently-acquired homestead by the fort, his cleared lands and his mill privileges, after all his schemes to secure them, slip thus from his grasp forever. No recourse remained but to put in vigorous claims for compensation before the commissioners appointed to investigate and reward the services and sufferings of the loyalists. As usual, he lost little time, and on 15 January, 1784, made oath at Halifax to a moving memorial, accompanied by sundry affidavits and schedules regarding his property lost at Cambridge and Penobscot.³ This he entrusted to Samuel Sparhawk to present for him in London, "as it was not in the power of Mr. Nutting personally to attend your Hon'ble Board within the time limited for receiving the claims."⁴ Consideration of this was apparently deferred till the next year, when the Commissioners visited Halifax to hear claimants on the spot. The indefatigable Nutting thereupon presented another memorial,⁵ backing it up with various

¹ Knox to Cooke. Ealing, 27 January, 1808. vi. Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, Various, 227.

² Most of the loyalists who were forced out of Penobscot removed to St. Andrews, opposite Eastport, thus continuing the border-line existence which they had already elected.

³ Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

⁴ Memorial of Sam'l Sparhawk "in behalf of John Nutting, March 25 1784. Bedford Court, R'd Lyon Square." *Ibid*.

⁵ Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London. Duplicated in xiii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 289. Public Library, New York City.

documentary proofs and the personal testimony both of himself and of sundry other witnesses, including young Lieutenant John. The hearing¹ was on 29 December, 1785, and the decision² was made the same day. The Commissioners, apparently in view of the various payments already made to him by government, confined themselves to a consideration of his property losses. The Cambridge claims were disallowed, the house "appearing to have been mortgaged to some of his Wife's Family & to be now in their possession." So was the claim for the "House built at Penobscot after that Post was occupied by the British Troops." So was the claim for "Furniture Lumber & Cattle lost at different places — there being no proof of Loss." In short, only £200 were awarded, for "500 Acres on Penobscot River with Houses Improvements and $\frac{1}{3}$ ⁴ of a Saw Mill." Even that was "only conditional. Proof of Confiscation and Sale is required." This was subsequently furnished; and after solemn affidavits from various members of the Walton family as to the Cambridge property,³ the claimant was "allowed on revision" an additional £100 for that, "after deducting mortgage."⁴

Unable therefore to capitalize his loyalty to any great extent, John Nutting seems to have settled down into a steady-going farmer of Newport, N. S. He probably carried out to the letter the various conditions on which all the crown grants had been made; — "within three years from date hereof to clear and work three acres of or for every fifty acres in the tract hereby granted . . . or clear and drain three acres of swampy or sunken ground, or drain three acres of marsh, . . . or put or keep on his said lands three Neat Cattle" or "to erect on some part of his said Lands One dwelling house to Contain twenty feet in length by sixteen feet in

¹ Fully reported in xiii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 297 *et seq.* Public Library, New York City. The witnesses besides Nutting *père et fils*, were Samuel Pool and Nathaniel Bust [*? Rust*], formerly of Cambridge, and Josiah Henny, of Penobscot. For the latter cf. G. A. Wheeler, *History of Castine*, 201.

² xxviii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 197. Public Library, New York City.

³ Affidavits of John Walton of Cambridge and Benjamin Walton of Reading, 29 October, 1788. Audit Office, Loyalist Series, Bundle 51, Public Record Office, London.

⁴ 12 December, 1788. xxviii. American Loyalists Transcripts, 197. Public Library, New York City. A revision after such an interval certainly suggests considerable powers of "pull" or persuasion.

breadth." He was a man of importance in the community, too, for his influence is unmistakable in the naming of the next town to Newport, perpetuating his wife's family name of Walton. His last child, a son of his old age, was born 12 September, 1787, and named from his two grandfathers James Walton.¹

So passed the afternoon of life. But was that active and ingenious spirit content in the improvement of a back-country farm and the routine duties of a surveyor of lumber? He had taken responsible part in many a stirring scene, in militia musters, in famous sieges, in English fort and Spanish prison, in concentration camps, in councils of the state, in fateful despatch-bearing. He had been faithful to his king, even unto banishment and double confiscation. Did he not long to play the man again? When his old wounds burned and stung in the foggy autumn nights, did not his thoughts turn back to his early frontier campaigns, to his "fall trainings" in Cambridge, to his expedition with Colonel Small, to his fight with the privateer? When the surf from Blomidon boomed on his beach, did he not hear again in fancy the guns of the *Vengeance*, or the 24's of Collier at Castine, or the cannonade from Copp's Hill? Did he not sometimes yearn as he passed among the farmer folk for his old neighbors in cultured and beautiful Cambridge, or his polished friends and patrons in glittering London? If we read the man aright, there can be but one answer.

We know, moreover, that to the end his old land-hunger and *wanderlust* were strong upon him, for he was constantly buying, selling, and mortgaging lots,² extending his operations as far as Cape Breton and its neighborhood. But his financial ill-luck, like the villain of the melodrama, still pursued him. When he died, intestate, late in 1800, although he was described as "gentleman," and as possessing "two lots of 500 acres each in Newport, being part of lands commonly called Mantular Lands" and "a 200 acre lot of Land in the County of Sidney No. 9, and a Town Lot in Man-

¹ Married Mary Elizabeth MacLean, 10 July, 1813, and had six children. Died 7 July, 1870, at Halifax. Nutting Papers. Stone in Camp Hill Cemetery there. He rose to eminence in the law, was clerk of the crown in the supreme court of the province, and at his death was senior member of the Nova Scotia Bar. He had a 500-acre grant in Newport, close to his father's.

² His numerous local deals may be traced in Windsor (Nova Scotia) Deeds, *passim*.

chester, No. 8 Letter M," — yet his estate was found insolvent, and a general sale was made of his property. The inventory included "7 cows, 1 yoke of oxen, 2 yoke of steers, 2 Heighfords," and other livestock, "1 boat," a reminder of his seafaring days, and a curious list of his tools: "3 axes, 1 Handsaw, 1 Crosscut saw, 1 Two feet rule, 2 augers, 2 chissels, 1 foot adds, 1 Tray adds, 2 grindstones, 1 Crow Barr, 1 Jack Plain, 1 Iron square, 1 draw knife, 8 files, 1 pinchers, 1 Do. Hammer." Only the merest necessities of life were exempted and "left in the Hands of the Wido Mary Nutting & her children."¹

While his relict thus suffered the penalty of his characteristic pecuniary misfortunes, she luckily reaped the benefit of his equally characteristic friendships with the great and influential. The Duke of Kent, Queen Victoria's father, then just quitting the post of commander-in-chief in Nova Scotia, "in consideration of her husband's services to the Crown, and his heavy losses at Cambridge by confiscation, . . . procured for the widow a special pension from the Crown."² Upon this subsidy, aided perhaps by her children's contributions, she managed to eke out an existence, possibly precarious but certainly protracted. She died about 1831, at "Loyal Hill."³

Such is the history, so far as gathered, of a Cambridge man born and bred, interesting not only for his all too uncommon type of personality among his loyalist neighbors, but for the curious speculations arising from his share in the historical events in which he played a part. If, for example, the strategists of Great Britain, uninfluenced by his solicitude for his eligible farm, had established the post in Maine at some other point than Penobscot — a point on which the attack of the Provincials might have been successful, — if the only organized naval force of the colonies, instead of disappearing utterly, had returned, encouraged by victory, to take, under the masterly strategy of Washington, a definite and co-ordinated part in the current and subsequent campaigns of the Revolution, — who can say how much the struggle would have been

¹ Hants Probate Records at Windsor, Nova Scotia. His son-in-law, Daniel McNeil, was appointed administrator, 21 November, 1800.

² W. F. Parker. *Life of Daniel McNeill Parker*, 12.

³ Nutting Papers.

altered and shortened? What would have been the effect on the story of American privateering? Again, if that post had been to the eastward of Penobscot, even had the result of the expedition been the same as it was, where might the Canadian boundary now be fixed? What chances for an actual New Ireland of to-day?

And the Muse of History (doubtless a polyglot dame) smiles inscrutably and replies, *Quien sabe?*

At the conclusion of Mr. Batchelder's paper the meeting was dissolved.

GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY

October 27, 1909 — October 25, 1910

<i>Donor</i>	<i>Description</i>
AMERICAN-IRISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Journal, Vol. IX, 1910
BARNEY, EVERETT HOSMER	Commodore Joshua Barney, U. S. N., 1759-1818, by W. F. Adams
BIGELOW, FRANCIS HILL	Address delivered before the Alumni of Harvard College, July 16, 1863, by James Walker
	At Home and Abroad, by Margaret Fuller Ossoli
	Atlas of the City of Cambridge, by G. M. Hopkins
	Cambridge Directory, 1848
	Cambridge in the "Centennial," issued by the City Council of Cambridge
	Cambridge of 1896, ed. by Arthur Gilman
	Can a State Secede? By Emory Washburn
	Discourse occasioned by the Death of Jared Sparks, by William Newell
	English Words and their Proper Use, by Lyman R. Williston
	Eulogy on Thomas Dowse, by Edward Everett
	Geological Sketches, by Louis Agassiz. 2d series
	Harvard Book, collected and published by F. O. Vaille and H. A. Clark. 2 v.

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Harvard Memorial Biographies, by
Thomas Wentworth Higginson.
2 v.

Henry W. Longfellow, by W. S.
Kennedy

History of Greece, by William
Smith, with Notes and a Contin-
uation to the present time, by
C. C. Felton

Journey in Brazil, by Professor and
Mrs. Louis Agassiz

Laws of Business for Business Men,
by Theophilus Parsons

Life of Josiah Quincy, by his Son
Notice sent to Marshall T. Bigelow
of his Election as Honorary
Member of the 12th Unattached
Co., M. V. M., Cambridge
Walcott Guard, January 1,
1866

Novum Testamentum Graece, ex
Recensione J. J. Griesbachii,
Cantabrigiae Nov. Anglorum,
1809

On the Measure of the Forces of
Bodies moving with Different
Velocities, by Daniel Treadwell
Recollections of Seventy Years, by
Mrs. John Farrar

Report on the Connection at vari-
ous times existing between the
First Parish in Cambridge and
Harvard College

Theory of the Universe, by Samuel
Hutchins

Tiles from the Todd House on Site
of St. John's Chapel

To the Free Soil Members of the
General Court of Massachusetts
for the year 1851, by J. G.
Palfrey

<i>Donor</i>	<i>Description</i>
	Treatise on English Punctuation, by John Wilson
CAMBRIDGE PUBLIC LIBRARY . . .	Annual Report of the Trustees, 1880, 1882, 1887, 1889, 1892- 1910. 22 nos.
	Cambridge Public Library: its History, etc., comp. by C. Walker.
	History of the Cambridge Public Library, 1858-1908, comp. by W. J. Rolfe and C. W. Ayer.
CART, EMMA FORBES	Genealogical and Personal Memoirs relating to the Families of the State of Massachusetts, ed. by W. R. Cutter. 4 v.
CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Annual Report, May, 1910
DANA, RICHARD HENRY, 3D . .	Boston Daily Advertiser, April 29, 1850, July 3, 1850, April 29, 1851
DELAWARE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Marking the Headquarters of Wash- ington and Lafayette, at Chadd's Ford, Delaware County, Pa., September 10, 1910
GOZZALDI, MRS. MARY ISABELLA	Certificate of Membership in the Francis Scott Key Memorial Association
HARRIS, ELIZABETH	Journal of American History, 1907- 1909. 3 v.
HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH	Album containing twenty-five Harvard Photographs of the Last Generation
HILDRETH, JOHN LEWIS	First Generation of the Name of Hildreth in Massachusetts, 1648- 1693, comp. by P. H. Reade
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LI- BRARY	Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1909
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SO- CIETY	Journal, Vol. II, No. 3-Vol. III, No. 3, Oct. 1909-Oct. 1910

<i>Donor</i>	<i>Description</i>
LANCASTER COUNTY (PA.) HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Papers read, Vol. XIII, No. 8-XIV, No. 6, Oct. 12, 1909-June 3, 1910
LANE, WILLIAM COOLIDGE	Classical and Scientific Studies and the Great Schools of England, by W. P. Atkinson, Dynamic and Mechanic Teaching, by W. P. Atkinson Horse-shoe: a Poem, by John Brooks Felton Prémices, by E. Foxton, pseud. for Sara Hammond Palfrey Subjects for Master's Degree in Harvard College, 1655-1791, tr. by E. J. Young
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Proceedings, Vol. XLII, Oct. 1908-June, 1909
MATTHEWS, ALBERT	Snake Devices, 1754-1776, and the Constitutional Courant, 1765. Reprinted from the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Vol. XI
MEDFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	Historical Register, Vol. XIII, 1910
MIDDLESEX COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Pamphlet, No. VIII, May, 1910
MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.	Collections, Vols. XII-XIII, 1908
NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY	New England Historical and Genealogical Register, April, 1910 (with Supplement)-July, 1910
NORTON, MARGARET	Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature, 1833-34
OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Quarterly, Vol. XIX, Nos. 1-2, 1910
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	Historia, Vol. I, No. 4, June 15 1910
OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY . .	Quarterly, Vol. X, No. 2-Vol. XI, No. 2, June, 1909-June, 1910

<i>Donor</i>	<i>Description</i>
PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY (NEW YORK)	Year Book, 1910
POCUMTUCK VALLEY MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION	History and Proceedings of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Vols. I and IV, 1870-1879, and 1899-1904
RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Proceedings, 1906-1908. 2 nos.
SAUNDERS, MARY ELIZABETH . . .	Acceptance and Unveiling of the Statue of John Bridge, the Puritan, issued by the Cambridge City Council
	Account of the Battle of Bunker Hill, by David Pulsifer
	Address of the Mayor of Cambridge, with the Annual Reports, 1846-1888, 1901-1904. 88 v.
	Exercises in Celebrating the 250th Anniversary of the Settlement of Cambridge, held Dec. 28, 1880, issued by the Cambridge City Council
	Funeral Discourse . . . on the Occasion of the Burial of G. T. and J. H. Tucker, by C. W. Anable
	Invitation to be present at the Memorial Services of General Grant, held Aug. 8, 1885, issued by the Mayor of Cambridge
	Memorial of the Inauguration of the Statue of Franklin, issued by the Boston City Council
	Memorial to the Men of Cambridge who fell in the First Battle of the Revolutionary War, issued by the Cambridge City Council
	Oration delivered on the 4th of July, 1862, before the Municipal Authorities of Boston, by G. T. Curtis

<i>Donor</i>	<i>Description</i>
	Record of the Massachusetts Volunteers, 1861-1865. 2 v.
	Remarks at the Funeral of Hon. W. Eustis Russell, by Rev. Alexander McKenzie
	Report of the Trial of Prof. John W. Webster
	Roll of Students of Harvard College who have served in the Army and Navy during the War of the Rebellion, by F. J. Child
	Thanksgiving Proclamation of the President, containing also the Proclamation of Gov. Andrew of Massachusetts
SHELDON, MRS. GEORGE	Tribute to C. Alice Baker, by J. M. A. Sheldon
VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	Virginia Magazine, Vol. XVIII, 1910
WISCONSIN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY	Wisconsin Archaeologist, Vol. VIII. No. 3, Oct. 1909

NECROLOGY

The original obituary sketches, of which most of the following are abstracts, are kept on file in the Society's collection.

REGULAR MEMBERS

AMES, JAMES BARR, was born in Boston, Mass., June 22, 1846. He was a pupil in the Boston Latin School and entered Harvard College in 1863. He graduated in 1868, receiving the degree of A.B. After two years spent in travel and teaching he entered the Harvard Law School, where he graduated in 1872. He stayed in the school for a graduate year, and at the same time taught two courses in history in the college. At the end of this year he received the master's degree and was appointed assistant professor of law. On June 25, 1877, he was appointed to a full professorship of law. In 1895 he succeeded Professor Langdell as dean of the Faculty, and in 1903 he became Dane Professor of Law. For thirty-six years he taught in the Harvard Law School, beloved and respected by all who knew him. He was made a Doctor of Laws by the University of New York and the University of Wisconsin in 1898, by the University of Pennsylvania in 1899, by Northwestern University in 1903, by Williams College and Harvard in 1904. In his younger days he was an enthusiastic amateur actor, and was for years the presiding officer of the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club. For ten years he was president of the Old Cambridge Shakespeare Club. For several years he was president of the Colonial Club in Cambridge. Mr. Ames married, June 29, 1880, Miss Sarah Russell, daughter of George Robert and Sarah (Shaw) Russell, of Boston. Two sons were born to them, Robert Russell (Harvard, 1907) and Richard (Harvard, 1907). Mr. Ames died January 8, 1910.

EDMANDS, JOHN RAYNER, was born in Boston, February 18, 1850, the son of Benjamin Franklin and Catherine Rayner Edmands. He was educated in the schools of his native city and graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1869, with the degree of Mechanical Engineer. For a number of years he was connected with the U. S. Coast Survey, and from 1888 to 1910 he was an assistant in the Harvard Astronomical Observatory, chiefly as librarian but not in continuous

service. Possessed of ample means and leisure, and fond of mountain climbing, Mr. Edmands became one of the original members of the Appalachian Mountain Club, showing great interest in its early topographical work in the White Mountains. In building paths up the high ridges he spent much time, energy, and money, and in this way he has prepared his own memorial, the name of "the Edmands trails" being given to the system of carefully constructed paths upon the northern peaks of the Presidential Range. As aids in this work for himself and for others, he showed inventive genius in constructing a special camera for obtaining panoramic profiles, and a portable form of heliotrope for transmitting sun-signals across the mountains, as well as a convenient pack-saddle for pedestrians. His work and his ability received full recognition in his appointment to many offices of the Appalachian Mountain Club, among which he served as Trustee of Real Estate from its organization in 1876 to his death, Corresponding Secretary in 1881, Vice-President in 1885, and President in 1886. His mountain service assumed a wider importance in helping to secure three reservations at North Woodstock, Shelburne, and Fitzwilliam. On October 26, 1885, Mr. Edmands married Helen Louise Atkins, of Belmont, whose sudden death within three years left him long a widower. His own death followed a stroke of apoplexy, at the Johns Hopkins University Hospital in Baltimore, on March 27, 1910, while he was on his way back from a trip to Florida for the benefit of his health. His will contained several public bequests, among them being \$10,000 to the Institute of Technology; his estate at 61 Garden Street to Radcliffe College; and \$1000 each to the Appalachian Mountain Club for the purchase of land in the public interest, to Harvard University for the use of the Phillips Library at the Observatory, and to the East End Christian Union.

ROLFE, WILLIAM JAMES, was born in Newburyport, Mass., December 10, 1827, and died at Tisbury, Mass., July 7, 1910. He was the son of John and Lydia Davis (Moulton) Rolfe. He passed most of his boyhood at Lowell; graduated at Amherst College in 1849; taught in Kirkwood Academy, Maryland, and at Day's Academy, Wrentham, till December, 1852, when he became headmaster of the Dorchester High School; later was principal of high schools at Lawrence, Salem, and Cambridge (1862-1868) until 1868, when he devoted himself wholly to literary work. Among his important editions are Shakespeare, in 40 volumes; "Students' Series of Standard English Poems," 10 volumes; Tennyson, 12 volumes; "Cambridge Course of Physics," 8 volumes; and selections from Goldsmith, Gray, Wordsworth, Browning, and other

poets. He also compiled several volumes of tales, and wrote three books on Shakespeare. From 1872 to 1910 he edited "The Satchel Guide to Europe." In 1908 he prepared, in collaboration with the librarian, Clarence W. Ayer, a "History of the Cambridge Public Library," in connection with the celebration, April 1, 1908, of the fiftieth anniversary of its establishment. He was president of the Emerson College of Oratory, Boston, 1904-1908. Harvard conferred on him an honorary A.M. in 1859, and Amherst made him a Litt. D. in 1887. On July 30, 1856, he married Eliza Jane Carew, of Dorchester. Their three sons are Prof. John Carew (Harvard, 1881); George William (Harvard, 1885); and Charles Joseph (Harvard, 1890).

SMITH, MRS. EMMA GRISCOM, born in New York City, July 16, 1845, was daughter of Dr. John Hoskins and Henrietta (Peale) Griscom, granddaughter of Rembrandt Peale, the artist, who was a son of Charles Wilson Peale, artist and aide-de-camp to General Washington. Mrs. Smith was educated at the Twelfth Street School in New York, the first public school in that city to receive girls exclusively, also at a private school. In 1865 she accompanied her father on a trip to Europe. She married, August 25, 1870, Clement Lawrence Smith (Harvard, 1863), son of Dr. George Smith, physician, legislator, and historian, who had been appointed tutor in Latin at Harvard College. For five years they made their home in Mason Street, where a daughter and two sons were born; another son was born at 65 Sparks Street, where they passed the remainder of their lives. Professor Smith became Dean of the Harvard College Faculty in 1882. In 1887 he took his first sabbatical year, which he spent with his family in Germany. Mrs. Smith remained another year in Europe for the benefit of the instruction of the children. Ten years later she was again abroad with her husband, who had been appointed head of the School of Classical Languages in Rome. The last years of her life were devoted to the care of her husband, who became a helpless invalid. He died July 1, 1909, and she followed on April 8, 1910.

SORTWELL, ALVIN FOYE, was born in Boston, July 21, 1854, son of Daniel Robinson and Sophia Augusta (Foye) Sortwell. He was educated in the Chauncy Hall School and at Phillips (Andover) Academy. At the age of eighteen he was a partner in the firm of Sortwell & Co., and until he retired in 1891 had full charge of the business in East Cambridge established by his father. He was a member of the Common Council of Cambridge in 1879, 1885, and 1888, serving the last year as

its president. He was elected to the Board of Aldermen in 1889 and was president of that body in 1890. In 1897 he was elected Mayor of Cambridge and served for two terms. From 1888 to 1894 he was a trustee of the Public Library. He was a member of the Water Board and its president from 1907 until his death. He was president of the Montpelier & Wells River Railroad, vice-president of the Barre Railroad, president of the Cambridge Trust Company, and a director of several corporations. He was a member of the Algonquin Club, the Country Club of Brookline, the Eastern Yacht Club, the Oakley Country Club, the Colonial Club of Cambridge, and the Cambridge Club. He married, December 31, 1879, Gertrude Winship, daughter of William and Mary E. Dailey of Cambridge. Their six children, Clara, Frances Augusta, Daniel Richard (Harvard, 1907-8), Marion, Edward Carter, and Alvin Foye, survive him. Mr. Sortwell died March 21, 1910.

SWAN, MRS. SARAH HODGES, was born March 21, 1825, at Bridgewater, where her father, Rev. Richard Manning Hodges (Harvard, 1815), was minister of the First Congregational Church, 1821-1833. Her mother was Elizabeth Quincy Donnison, daughter of William Donnison, Judge of Common Pleas, Adjutant General, and aide to Governor Hancock. Mr. Hodges lived three years in Boston after leaving Bridgewater, and in 1836 came to Cambridge, buying the house on the corner of Waterhouse and Garden streets, facing the Common, where he lived until his death in 1878. Mrs. Swan attended, until 1839, the school kept by Miss Austin and later by Miss Mary Hodge in the old Hooker House, which stood in the College Yard, where Boylston Hall now stands. For two seasons she was present at the conversations of Margaret Fuller and later took private lessons from her. She was married, April 16, 1851, to Rev. Joshua Swan (Harvard, 1846), and went to live in Kennebunk, Maine, where Mr. Swan was ordained minister of the First Congregational Church. He remained there until 1869, when he was obliged to resign, owing to failing health, and removed to 6 Berkeley St., Cambridge, where he died October 31, 1871. Four children, one son and three daughters, were born in Kennebunk, all still living. Mrs. Swan was a charter member of the Cambridge Historical Society and made some valuable donations to its library. She was much interested in collecting and arranging the records of her family, and wrote a valuable account of her mother's old home in Boston, at the corner of Washington and Winter streets. The Cambridge Hospital and Home for Aged People owed much to her, and she was active in all the work of the First Church (Uni-

tarian). She was largely influential in having the cars taken from Brattle Street and the Lowell Park laid out. She died at her home, 167 Brattle Street, October 17, 1910.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

AGASSIZ, ALEXANDER, scientist, mining company president, and philanthropist, the distinguished son of distinguished parentage, his father being Louis Agassiz and his mother Cécile Braun, was born in Neuchâtel, Switzerland, December 17, 1835. On the death of his mother, in 1849, the son came to Cambridge, to join his father, who had the year before accepted a position to teach in the new Lawrence Scientific School. Two years later he entered Harvard and graduated in the class of 1855. Two periods of study at the Lawrence Scientific School during the next six years, with the degree of S. B. in 1857, completed his solid equipment for undertaking numerous expeditions to all parts of the world for scientific research in the large field of invertebrate zoölogy and oceanography. From these expeditions he returned with countless specimens for the growing collections in the Harvard University Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, which his father had founded, upon which he expended, from time to time in its development, not less than one million dollars, and through which and through his published writings thereupon was established his fame as the world's greatest authority on his special subjects of sea-urchins, star-fishes, coral reefs, and the ocean floor. From the death of his father, in 1873, he became Curator of the new Museum, and under three successive titles was its virtual head until his own desired withdrawal in 1904. In other ways also he served the University, by gifts of money to other departments, and by two terms of office each, between 1873 and 1890, as a member of the Board of Overseers, and as a Fellow of the Corporation. From 1865 on, this scientific career was combined with another entirely different and equally successful, as mining expert and president of the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company. His technical knowledge and administrative ability in developing what has proved to be the richest copper mine in the world brought him great wealth, and gave him the means with which to carry on his scientific researches and to equip and endow the Museum. More than any other he may be considered the typical representative in America of the scholar in business. The number and variety of honors bestowed upon him by learned societies and universities, from the "Prix Serres" of the Académie des Sciences de Paris in 1873, to the Victoria research

medal of the Royal Geographical Society of London in 1909, were all spontaneous recognitions of his great service to natural science. He married, on November 15, 1860, Anna Russell, daughter of George Robert and Sarah (Shaw) Russell, who died in 1873, leaving three sons to his care and that of his devoted step-mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Cary Agassiz. His life-long home was at the corner of Quincy Street and Broadway; his summer home, and also his private laboratory, were at Newport, R. I. He died suddenly, at sea, on March 27, 1910, while on his return home from the Mediterranean. Among his published works, numbering 248 titles and consisting chiefly of reports and monographs on special topics, prepared for the Bulletin and Memoirs of the Museum, the following are the best known separate books: "Seaside Studies in Natural History," 1865 (with text by Mrs. Elizabeth Cary Agassiz); and the "Three Cruises of the *Blake*," 2 vols., 1888.

GILMAN, ARTHUR, born at Alton, Ill., June 22, 1837, was the son of Winthrop Sargent and Abia Swift (Lippincott) Gilman. He was eighth in descent from Edward Gilman, of Caston, Norfolk, England, who came to Hingham, Mass., in 1638, and in the seventh generation from Hon. John Gilman, of Exeter, N. H., member of the Council of the Royal Province of New Hampshire. Through his father's mother, Hannah Robbins, he was descended in the eighth generation from Richard Robbins, who came to Charlestown in 1639, and settled in Cambridge before 1643. Mr. Gilman was the second child in a family of thirteen, and eldest of the nine brothers and sisters who reached maturity. Until he was twelve years old he lived in Alton, and St. Louis, Mo.; then the family removed to New York City. He spent many summers in the Berkshire Hills, and after his marriage, April 12, 1860, to Amy Cooke Ball, daughter of Samuel and Experience Ball, of Lee, Mass., he made his home near Lenox, where a son and three daughters were born. He served on the local school committee and interested himself in education, lecturing at many schools and colleges on that subject. In 1870 he became associated with Houghton, Mifflin & Co., in the publications of the Riverside Press, and removed to Cambridge, where he continued to live until a short time before his death, when ill health obliged him to seek a milder climate. During this time Mr. Gilman wrote many books on history and English literature. He edited the Gilman Genealogy, "Cambridge in 1776," and "Cambridge Forty Years a City." On July 11, 1876, Mr. Gilman married for his second wife Stella Scott, daughter of David and Stella (Houghton) Scott, of Tuscaloosa, Ala., who aided him in his educational and literary work. By this second marriage he had two

daughters and a son. He built the house at the east corner of Waterhouse Street and Concord Avenue, which was thenceforth his home. His interest in education led him to plan for the teaching of young women by the Harvard professors. President Eliot and the Faculty approving, the Society for Collegiate Instruction for Women was formed and incorporated in 1882, Mr. Gilman being secretary, executive officer, and director. In 1894 this body became Radcliffe College, with Mr. Gilman as first Regent. In 1896, two years later, he resigned this position, but remained a member of the Corporation. In 1886 he founded the Cambridge School for Girls, since called the Gilman School. He received the degree of M.A. from Williams College in 1867, and from Harvard in 1904; was elected an honorary member of the Harvard Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa, and was for many years on the Board of Visitors of Wellesley College. Arthur Gilman was a valued member of many societies. He was founder and secretary of the Longfellow Memorial Association, and of the Lowell Memorial Society, a charter member of the American Historical Association, Cambridge Historical Society, Authors' Club, Episcopalian, St. Botolph and Colonial clubs, and of the New England Agricultural Society. He was many years secretary of the Humane Society and of the Episcopal Theological School, where he was also on the Board of Visitors. A constant attendant at St. John's Memorial Chapel, he was always ready to lend his aid to philanthropic work. On leaving Cambridge a few years ago he resigned as an active member, and became an associate member of the Cambridge Historical Society. He died at Atlantic City, N. J., December 27, 1909.

NILES, WILLIAM HARMON, was born, May 18, 1838, at Northampton, Mass. His parents were the Rev. Asa Niles and Mary A. (Marcy) Niles. His early education was received in the public schools of Worthington and at Wesleyan Academy at Wilbraham. He was for four years a student of Prof. Louis Agassiz. He then went to the Sheffield Scientific School at New Haven, and received the degree of Ph. B. in 1867. He received the honorary degree of A.M. from Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., in 1870. In 1871 he was appointed professor of physical geography in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and in 1878 became professor of geology and geography. In 1879 he became professor of geology at Boston University. In 1888 he was appointed professor in charge of the department of geology at Wellesley College. These three professorships he held for many years. He was president of the Boston Society of Natural History, of the New England Meteor-

ological Society, and a trustee of the Peabody Museum of Archæology. He was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of the Geological Society of America, and a member of the National Geographical Society and of the Society of American Naturalists. He was the author of many scientific books. He married, December 31, 1868, Miss Helen M. Plympton, youngest daughter of Dr. Sylvanus Plympton, of Cambridge. He died in Boston, September 18, 1910.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

1910-1911

<i>President</i>	RICHARD HENRY DANA.
<i>Vice-Presidents</i>	{ THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS. ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE.
<i>Secretary</i>	CLARENCE WALTER AYER.
<i>Treasurer</i>	HENRY HERBERT EDES.
<i>Curator</i>	CLARENCE WALTER AYER.

The Council

CLARENCE WALTER AYER, EDWARD HENRY HALL,
 HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY, THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON,
 RICHARD HENRY DANA, ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE,
 ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,
 HENRY HERBERT EDES, ALICE MARY LONGFELLOW,
 MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI, WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

COMMITTEES APPOINTED BY THE COUNCIL

1910-1911

On the Early Roads and Topography of Cambridge.

STEPHEN PASCHALL SHARPLES, EDWARD JOHN BRANDON,
EDWARD RUSSELL COGSWELL.

On the Collection of Autograph Letters of Distinguished Citizens of Cambridge.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,
HENRY HERBERT EDES.

On Sketches of Noted Citizens of Cambridge.

MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI, EDWARD RUSSELL COGSWELL,
SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER.

On the Collection and Preservation of Printed and Manuscript Material.

WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, CLARENCE WALTER AYER,
EDWIN BLAISDELL HALE.

On Publication.

CLARENCE WALTER AYER, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,
HENRY HERBERT EDES.

On Memoirs of Deceased Members.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY.

On the Collection of Oral Tradition and Early Letters and other Documents of Citizens of Cambridge.

MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI,
MARGARET JONES BRADBURY, GRACE OWEN SCUDDER,
ELIZABETH ELLERY DANA, GEORGE GRIER WRIGHT,
MARY HELEN DRANE, SUSANNA WILLARD.

On Auditing the Accounts of the Treasurer.

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

On the Longfellow Centenary Medal Prize.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER,
EDWARD BANGS DREW, CLARENCE WALTER AYER.

REGULAR MEMBERS

ABBOT, MARION STANLEY
 ALLEN, FLORA VIOLA
 ALLEN, FRANK AUGUSTUS
 ALLEN, MARY WARE
 ALLEN, OSCAR FAYETTE
 ALLISON, CARRIE JOSEPHINE
 ALLISON, SUSAN CARLYLE
 *AMES, JAMES BARR
 AUBIN, HELEN WARNER
 AUBIN, MARGARET HARRIS
 AYER, CLARENCE WALTER

 BAILEY, HOLLIS RUSSELL
 BAILEY, MARY PERSIS
 BANCROFT, WILLIAM AMOS
 BARNARD, CLARA EVERETT
 BATCHELDER, CHARLES FOSTER
 BATCHELDER, LAURA POOR
 BATCHELDER, SAMUEL FRANCIS
 BEALE, JOSEPH HENRY
 BELL, STOUGHTON
 BIGELOW, FRANCIS HILL
 BIGELOW, MELVILLE MADISON
 BILL, CAROLINE ELIZA
 BLAKE, JAMES HENRY
 BLISH, ARIADNE
 BLODGETT, WARREN KENDALL
 BOUTON, ELIZA JANE NESMITH
 BRADBURY, MARGARET JONES
 BRADBURY, WILLIAM FROTHING-
 HAM
 BRANDON, EDWARD JOHN
 BROCK, ADAH LEILA CONE
 BROOKS, ARTHUR HENDRICKS

BULFINCH, ELLEN SUSAN
 BUMSTEAD, JOSEPHINE FREE-
 MAN

 CARRUTH, ANNA KENT
 CARRUTH, CHARLES THEO-
 DORE
 CARY, EMMA FORBES
 CLARK, ELIZABETH HODGES
 COES, MARY
 COGSWELL, EDWARD RUSSELL
 COOK, FRANK GAYLORD
 CORNE, WILLIAM FREDERICK
 COX, GEORGE HOWLAND
 CROTHERS, SAMUEL McCHORD
 CUTTER, WATSON GRANT

 DALLINGER, WILLIAM WILBER-
 FORCE
 DANA, EDITH LONGFELLOW
 DANA, ELIZABETH ELLERY
 DANA, HENRY WADSWORTH
 LONGFELLOW
 DANA, RICHARD HENRY
 DAVIS, ANDREW McFARLAND
 DAVIS, ELEANOR WHITNEY
 DEANE, GEORGE CLEMENT
 DEANE, MARY HELEN
 DEANE, WALTER
 DODGE, EDWARD SHERMAN
 DREW, EDWARD BANGS
 DUNBAR, WILLIAM HARRISON
 DURANT, WILLIAM BULLARD
 DURRELL, HAROLD CLARKE

* Deceased.

EDES, GRACE WILLIAMSON
 EDES, HENRY HERBERT
 *EDMANDS, JOHN RAYNER
 ELIOT, CHARLES WILLIAM
 ELIOT, GRACE HOPKINSON
 ELIOT, SAMUEL ATKINS
 ELLIS, HELEN PEIRCE
 EMERTON, EPHRAIM
 EVARTS, PRESCOTT

FARLOW, LILIAN HORSFORD
 FENN, WILLIAM WALLACE
 FESSENDEN, MARION BROWN
 FISKE, ETHEL
 FOOTE, MARY BRADFORD
 FORBES, EDWARD WALDO
 FORD, LILIAN FISK
 FORD, WORTHINGTON CHAUN-
 CEY
 FOSTER, FRANCIS APTHORP
 FOX, JABEZ
 FOXCROFT, FRANK

GAMWELL, EDWARD FRANCIS
 GOODWIN, AMELIA MACKAY
 GOZZALDI, MARY ISABELLA
 GRAY, ANNA LYMAN
 GRAY, JOHN CHIPMAN

HALE, EDWIN BLAISDELL
 HALL, EDWARD HENRY
 HALL, WILLIAM STICKNEY
 HARRIS, ELIZABETH
 HART, ALBERT BUSHNELL
 HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENT-
 WORTH
 HILDRETH, JOHN LEWIS
 HILL, FREDERIC STANHOPE
 HODGES, GEORGE
 HOPPIN, ELIZA MASON
 HORSFORD, KATHARINE
 HOUGHTON, ALBERTA MANNING

HOUGHTON, ELIZABETH HARRIS
 HOUGHTON, ROSERHYSS GILMAN
 HOWE, ARCHIBALD MURRAY
 HOWE, ARRIA SARGENT DIX-
 WELL
 HOWE, CLARA
 HUBBARD, PHINEAS
 IRWIN, AGNES

JACKSON, ROBERT TRACY

KELLNER, MAXIMILIAN LINDSAY
 KENDALL, GEORGE FREDERICK
 KERSHAW, JUSTINE HOUGHTON
 KIERNAN, THOMAS J

LAMB, HARRIET FARLEY
 LANE, WILLIAM COOLIDGE
 LEAVITT, ERASMUS DARWIN
 LONGFELLOW, ALICE MARY
 LONGFELLOW, WILLIAM PITT
 PREBLE
 LOWELL, ABBOTT LAWRENCE

MARCOU, PHILIPPE BELKNAP
 McDUFFIE, JOHN
 McINTIRE, CHARLES JOHN
 MCKENZIE, ALEXANDER
 MELLEDGE, ROBERT JOB
 MERRIMAN, DOROTHEA FOOTE
 MERRIMAN, ROGER BIGELOW
 MITCHELL, EMMA MARIA
 MORISON, ANNE THERESA
 MORISON, ROBERT SWAIN
 MYERS, JAMES JEFFERSON

NICHOLS, JOHN TAYLOR GILMAN
 NORTON, GRACE
 NORTON, MARGARET
 NOYES, JAMES ATKINS

PAINE, JAMES LEONARD
 PAINE, MARY WOOLSON

* Deceased.

PARKER, HENRY AINSWORTH
 PARLIN, FRANK EDSON
 PARSONS, CAROLINE LOUISA
 PEABODY, CAROLINE EUSTIS
 PERRIN, FRANKLIN
 §PERRIN, LOUISA CHARLOTTE
 PICKERING, ANNA ATWOOD
 PICKERING, EDWARD CHARLES
 PICKERING, WILLIAM HENRY
 PIPER, WILLIAM TAGGARD
 POTTER, ALFRED CLAGHORN

RAND, HARRY SEATON
 READ, ELISE WELCH
 READ, JOHN
 READ, WILLIAM
 REARDON, EDMUND
 REID, WILLIAM BERNARD
 ROBINSON, FRED NORRIS
 *ROLFE, WILLIAM JAMES
 ROPES, JAMES HARDY
 RUSSELL, ETTA LOIS
 SAUNDERS, CARRIE HUNTING-
 TON

SAUNDERS, HERBERT ALDEN
 SAWYER, DORA WENTWORTH
 SAWYER, GEORGE AUGUSTUS
 SAWYER, GEORGE CARLETON
 SCUDDER, GRACE OWEN
 SEAGRAVE, CHARLES BURNSIDE
 SHARPLES, STEPHEN PASCHALL
 SMITH, EMMA GRISCOM
 *SORTWELL, ALVIN FOYE
 STEARNS, GENEVIEVE
 STONE, WILLIAM EBEN
 STORER, SARAH FRANCIS
 *SWAN, SARAH HODGES

§ Resigned.

TAYLOR, FREDERIC WESTON
 THAYER, WILLIAM ROSCOE
 THORP, JOSEPH GILBERT
 TICKNOR, FLORENCE
 TICKNOR, THOMAS BALDWIN
 TILLINGHAST, WILLIAM HOP-
 KINS
 TINDELL, MARTHA WILLSON
 NOYES
 TOPPAN, SARAH MOODY

VAUGHAN, ANNA HARRIET
 VAUGHAN, BENJAMIN

WALCOTT, ANNA MORRILL
 WALCOTT, ROBERT
 §WAMBAUGH, SARAH
 WARE, THORNTON MARSHALL
 WENTWORTH, ANNIE LOUISE
 LOCKE

WESSELHOEFT, MARY LEAVITT
 WESSELHOEFT, WALTER

§WHITE, EMMA ELIZA
 WHITE, MOSES PERKINS
 WHITEMORE, ISABELLA STEW-
 ART

WHITEMORE, WILLIAM RICH-
 ARDSON

WILLARD, SUSANNA
 WILLIAMS, OLIVE SWAN
 WINLOCK, MARY PEYTON
 WORCESTER, SARAH ALICE
 WRIGHT, GEORGE GRIER

§WRIGHT, PAMELIA KEITH
 WYMAN, MARY MORRILL
 WYMAN, MORRILL

YERXA, HENRY DETRICK

* Deceased.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

*AGASSIZ, ALEXANDER	GOODWIN, ELLIOT HERSEY
BARKER, JOHN HERBERT	LEVERETT, GEORGE VASMER
CARTER, CHARLES MORLAND	LOVERING, ERNEST
DAVENPORT, BENNET FRANKLIN	NICHOLS, JOHN WHITE TREAD-
FELTON, EUNICE WHITNEY	WELL
FARLEY	*NILES, WILLIAM HARMON
*GILMAN, ARTHUR	WADHAMS, CAROLINE REED

HONORARY MEMBERS

CHOATE, JOSEPH HODGES	HOWELLS, WILLIAM DEAN
RHODES, JAMES FORD	

* Deceased.

BY-LAWS

I. CORPORATE NAME.

THE name of this corporation shall be "THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY."

II. OBJECT.

The corporation is constituted for the purpose of collecting and preserving Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials, of procuring the publication and distribution of the same, and generally of promoting interest and research, in relation to the history of Cambridge in said Commonwealth.

III. REGULAR MEMBERSHIP.

Any resident of the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shall be eligible for regular membership in this Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Persons so elected shall become members upon signing the By-Laws and paying the fees therein prescribed.

IV. LIMIT OF REGULAR MEMBERSHIP.

The regular membership of this Society shall be limited to two hundred.

V. HONORARY MEMBERSHIP.

Any person, nominated by the Council, may be elected an honorary member at any meeting of the Society by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Honorary members shall be exempt from paying any fees, shall not be eligible for office, and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VI. ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP.

Any person not a resident, but either a native, or formerly a resident for at least five years, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shall be eligible to

associate membership in the Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Associate members shall be liable for an annual assessment of two dollars each, payable in advance at the Annual Meeting, but shall be liable for no other fees or assessments, and shall not be eligible for office and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VII. SEAL.

The Seal of the Society shall be: Within a circle bearing the name of the Society and the date, 1905, a shield bearing a representation of the Daye Printing Press and crest of two books surmounted by a Greek lamp, with a representation of Massachusetts Hall on the dexter and a representation of the fourth meeting-house of the First Church in Cambridge on the sinister, and, underneath, a scroll bearing the words *Scripta Manent*.

VIII. OFFICERS.

The officers of this corporation shall be a Council of thirteen members, having the powers of directors, elected by the Society, and a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary with the powers of Clerk, a Treasurer, and a Curator, elected out of the Council by the Society. All the above officers shall be chosen by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for the term of one year and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. The Council shall have power to fill all vacancies.

IX. DUTY OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and shall be Chairman of the Council. In case of the death, absence, or incapacity of the President, his powers shall be exercised by the Vice-Presidents, respectively, in the order of their election.

X. DUTY OF SECRETARY.

The Secretary shall keep the records and conduct the correspondence of the Society and of the Council. He shall give to each member of the Society written notice of its meetings. He shall also present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XI. DUTY OF TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds and securities, and shall keep in proper books the accounts, of the corporation. He shall receive and collect all fees and other dues owing to it, and all donations and testamentary gifts made to it. He shall make all investments and disbursements of its funds, but only with the approval of the Council. He shall give the Society a bond, in amount and with sureties satisfactory to the Council, conditioned for the proper performance of his duties. He shall make a written report at each Annual Meeting. Such report shall be audited prior to the Annual Meeting by one or more auditors appointed by the Council.

XII. DUTY OF CURATOR.

The Curator shall have charge, under the direction of the Council, of all Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials of the Society, except the records and books kept by the Secretary and Treasurer. He shall present a written report at each Annual Meeting.

XIII. DUTY OF COUNCIL.

The Council shall have the general management of the property and affairs of the Society, shall arrange for its meetings, and shall present for election from time to time the names of persons deemed qualified for honorary membership. The Council shall present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XIV. MEETINGS.

The Annual Meeting shall be held on the fourth Tuesday in October in each year. Other regular meetings shall be held on the fourth Tuesdays of January, and April of each year, unless the President otherwise directs. Special meetings may be called by the President or by the Council.

XV. QUORUM.

At meetings of the Society ten members, and at meetings of the Council five members, shall constitute a quorum.

XVI. FEES.

The fee of initiation shall be two dollars. There shall also be an annual assessment of three dollars, payable in advance at the Annual

Meeting; but any Regular Member shall be exempted from the annual payment if at any time after his admission he shall pay into the Treasury Fifty Dollars in addition to his previous payments; and any Associate Member shall be similarly exempted on payment of Twenty-five Dollars. All commutations shall be and remain permanently funded, the interest only to be used for current expenses.

XVII. RESIGNATION OF MEMBERSHIP.

All resignations of membership must be in writing, provided, however, that failure to pay the annual assessment within six months after the Annual Meeting may, in the discretion of the Council, be considered a resignation of membership.

XVIII. AMENDMENT OF BY-LAWS.

These By-Laws may be amended at any meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting, provided that the substance of the proposed amendment shall have been inserted in the call for such meeting.

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The Cambridge Historical Society

PUBLICATIONS

VI



PROCEEDINGS

JANUARY 24 — OCTOBER 24, 1911

★ **The Cambridge Historical Society**

PUBLICATIONS

VI

PROCEEDINGS

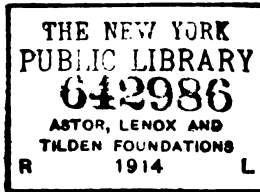
JANUARY 24—OCTOBER 24, 1911



CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

Published by the Society

1912



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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE TWENTIETH MEETING

THE TWENTIETH MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held the twenty-fourth day of January, nineteen hundred and eleven, at a quarter before eight o'clock in the evening, in Emerson Hall, Room J, Harvard University.

The President, RICHARD HENRY DANA, presided.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

For the first topic of the meeting ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE, Esq. read the following paper :

THE STATE ARSENAL AND THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE CANNON ON THE CAMBRIDGE COMMON

At first I felt like apologizing for my effort to disturb a harmless tradition which for more than thirty years has given an impression to our citizens that in our midst were cannon dead enough as artillery, because spiked and filled with mortar, but giving life to the memory of the valiant Knox and his co-patriots. But, impelled by statements made by the honored dead and by the circumstances of those who dwelt at the Common's edge from the earliest times, who were my progenitors and whose nobility of spirit perpetuates in me an undiminished glow of local patriotism, I shall now read to you words which, however dry in detail, seem to afford information worthy of perpetuation by our Society.

The proper recognition of the value of these cannon and of their condition represents the quality of the conduct of our local government, and any serious and long-continuing neglect to preserve these ancient relics should cause all our citizens to question whether our municipality is as sound as it should be. I do not wish to emphasize or encourage memorialization of a thoughtless character, but these guns were planted in our Common one hundred years (1875) after its occupation by our patriotic army, to be kept there in safe condition forever; and as long as we permit warlike memorials they should hold a most dignified position.

Whoever realizes what a great piece of land our Common is, when considered historically, will certainly exert his utmost strength to keep it free from any further memorials to individuals. Our age and time is overwhelmed with the thoughtless habit of memorializing distinguished men and women without discrimination as to the soundness and continuing value of their lives. Let this Society beware lest it unwittingly cheapen our Common by permitting any further incumbrances upon its "Training Field." To secure its dignity and its natural beauty may at some time require the outspoken protest of our most patriotic men and women; should such time unhappily be upon us, let this Society do its full duty.

I do not find that Massachusetts, whether colony or province, had any other place than "The Castle" for deposit of munitions of war in large quantity. On the accession of William it was called Castle William, and after cession to the United States by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts President John Adams called it Fort Independence — the name it now bears. The history of "The Castle," built in 1688, destroyed by fire, rebuilt and again and again provided with ordnance by the royal government, is well known. In 1692, after the second charter, the Crown provided ordnance for four bastions known as "Crown," "Rose," "Royal," "Elizabeth." Twenty-four cannon were nine-pounders, twelve twenty-fours, eighteen were thirty-twos, and four were forty-twos. At this time invasion by the French from Canada was expected.

After the accession of William, Colonel William Wolfgang Romer, an able German engineer, rebuilt the fortifications, and it is said one hundred pieces of cannon, including some forty-twos, were

then mounted. In 1740 the Shirley Bastion was constructed with twenty forty-twos mounted, and in 1744 a present of guns came from George II, said to be thirty-twos. In 1749, according to one writer, there were one hundred and four cannon besides bombs and mortars at "The Castle." After the evacuation of "The Castle" by the British in March, 1776, the Americans found a number of cannon at that fort, although the arms of most of them had been broken off; still some spiked guns were redrilled and some mutilated thirty-twos were repaired by affixing new trunnions or arms by strong iron hoops. The "Somerset," a British man-of-war, which in 1758, during the reign of George II, took part at Louisburg and Quebec, was wrecked in 1778 off Cape Cod, and supplied to this fort twenty-one handsome thirty-twos, probably bearing the "2 G. R." mark. About that time the Commonwealth rebuilt the works, so that in the new fortification, besides the ancient and mutilated iron cannon, there were twenty-one thirty-twos, three nines, twelve fours, iron cannon and thirteen saluting pieces, eleven of which were nines and probably all were brass or copper. Of this armament, the iron ordnance was all British-made. I find a Massachusetts resolve of November 2, 1776, passed for the purpose of establishing a furnace in Massachusetts to cast and bore large cannon; but, while brass or copper cannon were undoubtedly cast hereabouts, it seems probable that in 1776, and for some years after, only iron cannon were cast in or near Philadelphia, at Hope Furnace in Rhode Island, or at Hughes's Foundry in Cecil County, Maryland, and at Salisbury, Connecticut. At the latter place John Jay and Gouverneur Morris, as agents, superintended the casting of cannon, and there guns for the "Constellation" and the "Constitution" were cast. Cyrus Alger did not begin his work at South Boston until 1809, and he manufactured iron cannon during the War of 1812. Much earlier, June 9, 1798, when the frigate "Constitution" was being armed, Major William Perkins at Fort Independence was ordered to deliver to Captain Nicholson, commander of the frigate, not exceeding sixteen eighteens. Admiral Preble, in his history of the Boston Navy Yard, writes that the "Constitution" carried through the War of 1812 and long after, for her first battery, guns which bore the monogram "G. R.," showing their English origin.

By the Act of June 25, 1798, the fort now called Independence and the island where it stands were ceded by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to the United States of America, reserving the ordnance and all warlike stores then on the island which were the property of the Commonwealth. In estimating the sums received for this property by agreement of the parties, it appears that by a new agreement of the 8d of September, 1803, the amounts received by the Commonwealth from leaving out the mutilated cannon were reduced to \$21,336.37; "the guns saved from the 'Somerset' were retained." Whether this means that the Commonwealth or the United States of America retained these guns is a matter of inference, but at all events it thus appears that these thirty-tvos were still existing and not in use. On October 2, 1798, among the iron cannon at "The Castle" were twelve thirty-tvos on carriages and eleven thirty-tvos dismounted.

In 1835, among other iron cannon at Cambridge were detailed four thirty-tvos and two twelves, and among the gun carriages five thirty-tvos, fort carriages. May 8, 1848, George Devereau, adjutant and acting quartermaster-general, wrote to the governor and council that the number of cannon at the Arsenal to be sold was thirty-seven, weighing 175,157 pounds. "Some of the guns," he wrote, "bear the British royal cipher and came from Fort Independence." "Perhaps," he adds, "it may be well to reserve two or more, as a matter of interesting association. This may be easily provided for in a resolve." George W. Rayne, born in 1837, son of George Rayne, superintendent of the Arsenal, says that thirty-four dismounted guns were stored for many years in sheds on land now occupied by the house of the late George S. Saunders Esq., then part of the Arsenal grounds; that in 1848 there was a sale of this ordnance to the South Boston Iron Works; that his father, the superintendent of the Arsenal, selected the three guns now on Cambridge Common from the whole stock of cannon in the sheds and put them on the Arsenal grounds, where they stood on carriages for many years; and that his father put a tin sign on them, marked "Left on Fort Independence at the Evacuation of Boston." There was also at the Arsenal a large, high-wheeled carriage which was intended for the transportation of heavy ordnance by slinging the cannon between the wheels with heavy chains.

In addition to a discrepancy between Knox's inventory ¹ and the weights and calibre of the three cannon ² it is well known that the carriages bearing these cannon are ship or fort carriages (sea-coast). And it is generally believed by all experts in our Revolutionary ordnance history that Knox's guns went with Washington's army to New York. General Knox, in 1778, when seeking ordnance, does not ask for thirty-twos. The largest cannon he thought of was twenty-four, the standard size gun of that time. In 1781 no thirty-twos were sent to Yorktown and thirty-twos were thought of for a proposed siege. The only iron siege cannon at Yorktown were twenty-fours and eighteens with the American army and sixteens and twenty-fours with the French.

Drake, in his book published in 1874, entitled "Historic Fields and Mansions of Middlesex," page 265, writes :

¹ S. A. Drake, Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, pp. 544-545: Schedule of cannon brought from Ticonderoga by General Knox December 10, 1775.

² The three cannon on Cambridge Common were identified by Mr. William Read, the marks, weights, bores, and lengths being as follows :

The one on left of Monument :

<i>Marks.</i>	<i>Weight.</i>	<i>Bore.</i>	<i>Length.</i>
Crown, G. R. 19, Arrow (being Government property mark, H. B. M. Ordnance). Inside of right arm this mark. $\overline{\Lambda}$	(By weight cut into gun.) Cwt. q. lbs. 54 0 24	6 1/2 in.	9 ft. 7 in.
(About 6072 lbs.)			(Probably 32-pounder.)

The one on right of Monument :

<i>Marks.</i>	<i>Weight.</i>	<i>Bore.</i>	<i>Length.</i>
Crown (being obliterated), No. 1298, no Arrow. Inside of left arm. ∇	Cwt. q. lbs. 50 1 9	6 1/2 in.	9 ft. 8 in.
(About 5637 lbs.)			(Probably 32-pounder.)

The one back of Monument :

<i>Marks.</i>	<i>Weight.</i>	<i>Bore.</i>	<i>Length.</i>
Crown (obliterated), shape of rose, No. 22, Arrow. Inside of left arm, "R."	Cwt. q. lbs. 28 2 0	4 1/2 in.	9 ft. 1 in. or with bevelled edge.
(About 3192 lbs.)			(Probably 12-pounder.)

"The visitor will find some relics of the siege at the State Arsenal on Garden Street in several pieces of artillery mounted on sea-coast carriages and arranged within the enclosure. These guns were left in Boston by Sir William Howe * * * it is to be hoped that the State of Massachusetts can afford to keep these old war-dogs which bear the crest and cipher of Queen Anne and the Second George. All have the broad arrow, but rust and weather have nearly obliterated the inscriptions impressed at the royal foundry. The oldest legible date is 1687."

Within the houses at the Arsenal before 1874 were two beautiful brass field pieces with date 1760-1761, and two Spanish pieces of December, 1767, and other valuable relics. All had in 1874 disappeared, excepting one cannon. This British trio, that never will again make a sound excepting it be by falling to the ground from rotten carriages, was well known to the late Estes Howe, of Cambridge, a man of accurate memory and interested in local history, who repeatedly referred to them as from the fort in the harbor, but a pleasing tradition has been perpetuated in print several times in Cambridge historical memorials which would be most gratifying to me. It is that the cannon were taken at Ticonderoga and Crown Point by Ethan Allen and his men and brought here by General Knox. (My maternal ancestor was with Allen in May, 1775, and was commended in public proclamation to the Continental Congress.) That this cannot be the correct statement of their origin I think I have herein proved. The cannon were granted to the City of Cambridge by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts by resolve of March 31, 1875, as the three old iron British cannon and their carriages now in the State Arsenal yard to be kept in good condition forever. Their present condition (January, 1911) is deplorable.

The grant to the City was promoted by the late Isaac Bradford, who in 1863, as a young captain, with his command guarded the Arsenal and lived near by. His interest in the military affairs of Cambridge led to the planting of the cannon on the place where our patriot army encamped. It is to be hoped that soon our authorities will protect the guns from falling to the earth and thus save our city from dishonor and our children from danger. The only justification for the words marked upon the stone near the cannon —

"These guns were used by the Continental Army in the Siege of Boston during the American Revolution" — is that, although they may have been used by the British against the Americans before the evacuation, possibly the Massachusetts militia who afterwards occupied the fort, artillery men under Colonel John Trumbull, detachments from Colonels Marshall's and Whitney's regiments of militia, particularly Crafts's train of artillery, may have mounted these guns, with others, when Shirley Bastion was prepared to defend Boston Harbor after March, 1776. There were a few shots fired at the British transports which, June 16-17, 1776, were captured with Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell and several hundred of the Seventy-first Regiment, Frazer's Highlanders, but I doubt if any shots were fired from Castle Island.

Thus ends the story of the guns, and it is the only story I can tell now; perchance some London ordnance authority may refer me to Woolwich or Carron, but, whatever the future may afford as to the making of the guns, it seems worth while to recall the place they guarded before they came to their present position; it was the State Arsenal grounds near the post flag-staff. During the earlier years of the class of 1855 at Harvard, probably the freshman year, Francis C. Barlow, of that class, discharged one or more of these cannon, probably the last of their warlike use. Later in his life that student became a brave general, and to-day the land is occupied by his classmate. The disappearance of the Arsenal from Cambridge makes it worth while to recall its existence, otherwise to many of the coming generations Arsenal Square ("square" being a common misnomer hereabouts) will always be a triangle without meaning. About one hundred and fifteen years ago the impending difficulties with the French led our Commonwealth to consider the necessity for the better storage of its munitions of war, and as Cambridge a little more than twenty years earlier had been the centre of military activities, with barracks and a laboratory at the upper or westerly part of the Common, Cambridge was selected as the place for the State Arsenal. For public and probably warlike purposes buildings had been maintained there as public storehouses since 1776 continuously until April, 1785, when a question arose as to the right of the proprietors of Common lands to lease parts of the Common so occupied, and it may be inferred that this question

led the authorities to acquire title to land favorably situated for the use of the Commonwealth and thus avoid paying rent to either the proprietors or the town of Cambridge. However that may be, June 10, 1796, Massachusetts bought of Joseph Bates, housewright, a piece of land bounding westwardly on the road commonly called "Milk-Porridge Lane" (now a part of Garden Street) and, no doubt, moved the old buildings or built new and inexpensive buildings thereon to store any materials of war that should come to the Commonwealth whenever acquired by purchase from the United States or private parties.

In 1813 more land adjoining was purchased from the heirs of Bates, and in March, 1817, Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse sold to Massachusetts land adjoining. His letter of January 10, 1817, to Amasa Davis, quartermaster-general, is worth preservation. The following is a copy of it:

AMASA DAVIS, Esq., Quartermaster-General.

SIR, — I have considered your proposition and consulted gentlemen of judgment relative to parting with the piece of ground for the Arsenal, and presume that you and I can hit what is just and right that the Commonwealth should give and I receive for it.

I must beg you, however, to consider that I have no wish to part with any of my land. I have only between nine and ten acres, just enough to keep my creatures and amuse me in its cultivation. I had rather increase than diminish the boundary of my land. Thus circumstanced, no one can suppose that I could estimate my land otherwise than by the foot like all the house lots.

It is easy to see that this valuable military depot will extend itself. It cannot be otherwise. In time of war it would doubtless have an armorers and carpenter's shop with barracks for a subaltern's guard, with other needful accompaniments; and this would create a neighborhood not very desirable to cornfields, orchards and fruit gardens. The very spot you wish for is part of that portion of my land which I have often contemplated as the most proper for two house lots and two gardens.

Respecting the price, I will observe that the late Governor Gerry sold his land for more than 25 cents the square foot. Land has been lately sold at Cambridgeport for 12½ cents the foot. Now I am willing to sell mine to the Commonwealth for half that sum, viz. 6¼ cents, or 4½ the square foot, and this I presume neither you nor the Government would ever think out of the way.

Judge Winthrop told me yesterday that the United States gave him two thousand, five hundred dollars per acre for the land on Governors Island, on which is built Fort Warren.

Should you take the land, I would endeavor to accommodate you as it regards bringing on your materials provided it would not interfere with my spring work or open my grounds to the ingress of cattle and depredators. I presume you will need 140 feet by, I guess, 85. But of this you are the best judge.

I am, sir, with respect,

Your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE.

In 1848 an exchange of land by Mrs. Louisa Waterhouse and the Commonwealth made Follen Street possible, and, I think, there was no further acquisition of land for Arsenal purposes until 1864, when a lot having 418 feet front on Chauncy Street was purchased from the Waterhouse heirs. Twenty years later, June 6, 1884, the whole estate, buildings and land, was sold to a private citizen for private use. While I cannot give a full statement of the Arsenal buildings, I can give some detail. December 12, 1816, the General Court found that there was an absolute necessity for additional buildings for the safe keeping of munitions of war. January 12, 1818, Governor Brooks reported to the Senate and House that a fire-proof distributing arsenal and laboratory in Boston (this was on Carver Street), which was sold in 1847, and a fire-proof brick building in Cambridge were complete and all within the appropriation of \$14,000. The building in Cambridge is described in the Resolve of 1816 to be 100 feet long by 40 feet wide and three stories high, this to be used as a place for the more permanent deposit of tents, camp equipage, fixed ammunition, and other munitions of war.

In the year 1848-1849 (see Resolve 28, April, 1849), some old wooden sheds at the Arsenal were sold, as well as some war material (probably the same sale referred to by Mr. Rayne), and a "neat and elegant building erected 1½ stories high, 100 feet long and 25 feet wide, with slated roof and finished attic, all for \$2,728.78." I suppose this was the building which stood at right angles with the building of 1816-1818 and perhaps almost parallel with Garden Street. It was the office of the superintendent, and somewhere in

it, I am told, cartridges were made during some part of the War of 1861-1865.

Besides sheds, on the land near Follen Street, there was built, under authority of an act of 1852, a brick dwelling house with a slate roof for the use and occupation of the keeper; the cost was not to exceed \$2500. Finally, in 1864 or 1865, a machine shop was built in the rear of the building of 1816-1818, which, after it had for some time been lying idle, was occupied by the youth of Cambridge, who there, in 1876, organized the Cambridge Social Dramatic Club. Its beginnings were characteristic of its members, who with their own hands erected the stage and made their scenery and enacted plays of Sheridan and other classic dramatists.

April 29, 1861, Harvard students signed an obligation to obey such drill officers as the corporation might appoint. They were uniformed and organized into a battalion of four companies under command of Joseph Hayes, of the Harvard class of 1855, afterwards a brave general officer with the brevet of major-general. This battalion guarded the Arsenal during May, 1861, and perhaps at other times. Two hundred and fifty-seven names of students of this battalion appear upon the rolls at the State House.

Again, in 1863, during the draft riots of that summer, the Washington Home Guard, a Cambridge company commanded by Captain Isaac Bradford, afterwards chief of the police and later mayor, did guard duty there. During a night of their occupancy Governor Andrew sent wagons to convey muskets, rifles, and ammunition from the Arsenal to the State House. Although the principal arsenal for the Commonwealth, there were many years between 1796 and 1884 when the estate was a place for equipments that were decaying. Massachusetts took small part in the land forces of the War of 1812. Perhaps General Sumner's words may be worth quoting, to show the possible celerities of 1812-1814. He writes that men twenty miles distant from headquarters laboring in the fields and workshops appeared at the places to which they were summoned in their military attire, furnished with three days' rations as the law required, in twenty hours from the time the videttes notified them of danger. Officered by men of their choice, this militia garrisoned the forts of the metropolis and of other principal towns during 1814, while the regulars marched from the maritime to the inland fron-

tier. In the Mexican War one regiment raised by Caleb Cushing from Massachusetts served as United States volunteers. In 1843 some repairs were made and then, about 1849, came some activity — “a year’s supply from the United States,” referred to in the quartermaster-general’s letter of June 5, 1849, to the governor, compels the quartermaster-general to ask for more storage room.

Furthermore, he recommends the sale of several hundred damaged muskets and a number of old gun carriages, the cannon belonging to which have been melted up, and which are in themselves wholly unserviceable, together with a lot of condemned cartridge boxes, belts, and other small equipment. The old gun carriages were out-of-doors and becoming less valuable. There were about twenty old gun carriages, tumbrils, and at times white oak for gun carriages was there stored. Some pieces of mahogany were found, showing the variety of arms which may have been there. During the War of 1861–1865 a great variety of tents and equipments were stored and sold at the Arsenal. Perhaps some articles were from captured blockade runners. There were a few heavy cannon deposited on the grounds — Dalgrens painted red — though one witness thinks some Blakelys, painted brown, were there; and it is known that two thousand equipments for infantry, made of brown leather probably from captured blockade runners, were sold from the Arsenal to private parties.

Cambridge gave little attention to the Arsenal. Poets and patriots, trees and old mansion houses have taken the fancy of almost all writers, but Cambridge has not yet conquered the brutal spirit in man or boy. However much the acts of peace are cultivated, the love of immediate power and success compels some preparation for defence against some enemy on earth, and at the entrance to Cambridge called Massachusetts Avenue stands a modern State armory, of considerable luxury in its arrangements, where a citizen militia is drilled and entertained. I trust, however, that the exercise derived from military manoeuvres may increase the standard of moral and physical health, without laying too much emphasis upon war as a probable necessity at times when, as General Sherman said, because weak men were in high office he was obliged to draw the sword.

For the second topic of the meeting CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON gave, with photographic illustrations, an address, of which the following is an abstract by the Secretary:

THE AIMS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF NEW ENGLAND ANTIQUITIES

THE work already accomplished by this new Society has awakened public opinion on matters of local historic interest and value. In these days of improvement and progress old houses of distinction in design and architecture should not be allowed to be torn down. They stand as present examples for guidance to our knowledge of the past. Old landmarks should be carefully and faithfully preserved, their quaint and odd features being of special significance and worth.

Movements of a similar kind have long been active abroad, as shown in the preservation and restoration of a large number of houses in which great men have lived. Among them may be mentioned—and here illustrated by photographs—the Harvard house at Stratford, the Dr. Johnson house in London where his “Dictionary” was written, the John Knox house in Edinburgh, the Burns home at Alloway, the Carlyle house at Chelsea, and in Italy the house of Raphael at Urbino.

In our own country it is to be noted that old houses in the Southern States were generally built of stone, in contrast with those of the Northern States, which are mostly of wood. The latter are for that reason much less durable, and need all the more care and attention for their adequate preservation. Among New England houses may be singled out the Devotion house in Brookline, an interesting example of early architecture and now used as a museum, the Pierce house in Newbury, and the White-Ellery house in Gloucester. Incidentally it is to be observed that the automobile has been doing much to preserve old houses, by making accessible remote parts of all communities.

A careful study of old houses in the Connecticut Valley has just been made by the founder of this Society, Mr. William S. Appleton. In the next issue of its Bulletin will be described the old garrison houses of New England, of which there are only a few left, and

some of these have been covered over with clapboards. Among other objects for preservation are windmills, of which some twenty-five are still active. Interesting instances of repairs of old houses are those of the Craddock house in Medford, and more recently of the House of Seven Gables in Salem, which has been restored as nearly as possible to its original condition, including even the old hidden stairway.

Plans are now being made to save a number of old houses about New England, one of them being in Newburyport, and another the Austin house in Cambridge. In both instances it is the purpose and the hope of the Society that the houses may be bought outright, and that afterward they may be kept in repair and rented to responsible people, who, in consideration of the rent, will become their caretakers and open the houses to public visitors at occasional or stated times.

In this movement for the preservation of old houses and other relics of the past the interest is becoming wide-spread, and as a most encouraging result the membership of our new Society is already large. The co-operation of the Cambridge Historical Society and of all its members is most cordially solicited. As an aid to that co-operation our Society will publish, from time to time, bulletins which will give full information about old houses and about other objects of similar antiquarian interest.

For the third topic of the meeting Mrs. MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI read the following paper :

A FEW OLD CAMBRIDGE HOUSES

OUR Cambridge poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, has written

“ All houses wherein men have lived and died
Are haunted houses.”

“ We have no title-deeds to house or lands ;
Owners and occupants of earlier dates
From graves forgotten stretch their dusty hands,
And hold in mortmain still their old estates.”

Do we not feel this when we cross the threshold of a seventeenth-century house? Are we not carried back to the days of

high thinking and plain living, when large families were brought up in what seem to us incredibly close quarters? Or when we stand in the hall-way of a lordly eighteenth-century house do we not catch glimpses of powdered heads and queues, of small clothes and diamond knee-buckles, of patches and high-heeled shoes, as the ghostly occupants flit through the wainscoted rooms?

“We meet them at the doorway, on the stair,
Along the passages they come and go.”

How does a man who is not a great thinker, writer, or teacher more impress the men of the generations that succeed him than by his house? Men build their characters into their houses, or did before we had architects. If the builder were liberal, his rooms were as large, his windows as wide, as his purse would allow. If he had taste and culture, the ornamentation of his house was from Greek models, restrained, classic; if he were fond of show, his drawing-rooms were grand and courtly; if convivial, his dining-room received the most attention; if warm-hearted and hospitable, his mind turned to lordly guest-chambers; if social, to a ballroom. All these characteristics we see in eighteenth-century houses, when building in New England became a fine art.

It is this personal element in old houses that leads us to visit the birthplaces of famous men. We wish to see the rooms where they first opened their eyes on the world. Here it was that they saw “the vision splendid” of their boyhood. It was in these surroundings, humble or grand, that they worked out the problems of their lives.

In the houses inhabited by those unknown to history it is the atmosphere of family life that we feel. Here were enacted the events of importance to them.

“From that chamber clothed in white,
The bride came forth on her wedding night:
There, in that silent room below,
The dead lay in his shroud of snow.”

All the cycle of human experiences has been witnessed again and again by these old walls; could they speak, what tales we should hear! When an old house with which we have grown familiar is pulled down we feel that we have lost a friend. Has Boston ever

ceased to regret the loss of the John Hancock house? Have we ever ceased to mourn the historic Holmes house? Oh, let us, while there is still time, try to save those houses that will show to our descendants what manner of men their ancestors were!

Cambridge has but few *very* old houses; only three claim to be of the seventeenth century, and the changeableness of the population of our city is emphasized by the fact that there is not a single house, to my knowledge, where the family of the builder has dwelt for eight generations. Such houses are common in Essex County. I remember, in an afternoon spent near Newburyport, seeing at least half a dozen still inhabited, I was told, by the descendants of the builders.

There are three seventeenth-century houses in this neighborhood. One is the Vassall house (94 Brattle Street), which has been so altered and pulled about by its numerous owners that probably the only part remaining of the original house, built by William Adams, is the western chimney, laid with pounded oyster-shells, and the two rooms on each side of it. The Lee-Nichols house may have been built in the latter part of the seventeenth century, when it was the home of a well-to-do farmer in what was then a part of Watertown. It was not until 1758 that Judge Lee enlarged it and made it what it now is. The details of the origin of the third house we know, a house that has not been materially altered or enlarged. Never made elegant or stately, it still remains the cosey home of the old New England type that the builder intended it to be. This is the Cooper-Austin house on Linnæan Street. It was built by Deacon John Cooper in 1657, out of the trees which his townsmen gave him permission to fell on the common lands. The beams are of oak, as solid as when cut two hundred and fifty-odd years ago; the original clapboards are still on it, placed quite near together at the bottom, widening as they go up, and nailed on with old hand-wrought nails. At the east side the third story overhangs the second, and at the back the roof slopes from the ridgepole to within six feet of the ground. In the middle of the house stands the huge five-flued chimney. On either side of the door are large square rooms, both, as well as the two rooms over them, having exposed beams and large fireplaces. At the back is a long room for the

kitchen, with a tiny bedroom at one end; and over this are the two-step bedrooms, so called because they were reached by steps from the front rooms. In the third story are two good-sized rooms with windows in the gables.

John Cooper was a prominent man of his time. He was selectman for forty-four years from his election in 1646, town clerk for twelve years, and deacon of the church for twenty-three years, until his death in 1691, at the age of seventy-three. He came here in 1636 or 1637 with his mother and step-father, Deacon Gregory Stone, who is supposed to have been the brother of Rev. Thomas Hooker's reader in the First Church, Rev. Samuel Stone.

Deacon John Cooper married Anne Sparhawk, daughter of Deacon Nathaniel Sparhawk, who was here in 1636. She was the great-aunt of that Nathaniel Sparhawk who built the old house at Kittery Point and married the daughter of Sir William Pepperell. Their son, Samuel Cooper, who was the next owner of the house, married Hannah, daughter of Deacon Walter Hastings, who came from England with his father John in 1682. Their son, the grandson of the builder, Walter Cooper, inherited the house, and married Martha, daughter of Benjamin Goddard. He seems to have been the first person connected with the house who was not a deacon. When he died in 1751, Walter Cooper left to his widow Martha "the west half of his dwelling house, with liberty of the oven in t' other room, the east half of the barn, and liberty to pass and re-pass about the house and barn," privileges which she enjoyed for many years, for she outlived her son, the next heir, a second Walter, who married Lydia Kidder, daughter of Thomas and Lydia (Prentice) Kidder. The first husband of Lydia (Prentice) Kidder had been John Cooper, brother of the first Walter Cooper. This marriage took place in 1755, and Walter Cooper Jr. died the following year, at the age of twenty-seven (before the birth of his son Walter, who died when two years old); so his widow, Lydia, inherited the east half of the house. She married for her second husband Jonathan Hill in 1763. He bought out the rights of the Widow Martha Cooper to the west half, oven, and barn, and the house passed from the family of the builder after more than a hundred years of occupancy.

Of this second marriage two children were born, Jonathan Cooper

Hill and Lydia, and now we come to the only romance of the old house that has become public property. When Lydia was baptized in the old meeting-house in the College Yard, in 1766, a student of the College was present, and tradition says that she made such an impression on him that he then and there declared that he would marry her. Nearly ten years later this student, then Major Fogg, of Kensington, New Hampshire, staff officer of Colonel Poor's regiment, was stationed in Cambridge and made the acquaintance of little Lydia; after the war of the Revolution was over he returned and married her. In 1788 she and her brother sold the house to Deacon Gideon Frost, a great-grandson of Deacon John Cooper who built the house. His descendants still own it. Martha, daughter of Gideon Frost, married Thomas Austin of Boston and died in 1888; her daughter married, in 1837, Rev. Reuben Seiders, who before his marriage changed his name to Richard Thomas Austin. So to the last two generations this has been known as the Austin house. Thus this house has been in the family of the builder more than two hundred and fifty years, except for the twenty-three years when it went by inheritance and purchase into the Hill family — a record I think no other Cambridge house possesses.

Until 1839–1840 Cambridge was rich in seventeenth-century houses. The first house built here by Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Dudley was burned in 1666, as I learned from the deed given in 1691 by Edward Pelham, son of Herbert Pelham, member of Cromwell's parliament. No picture is known to exist of this house, so we cannot judge whether or not Governor Dudley was guilty of the fault of which he was accused by his contemporaries, of wanton luxury in the wainscoting of his house.

In 1839 the first tavern, that stood on Dunster Street next door to the first meeting-house and was kept by the first deacon, was also destroyed by fire. Nothing remains to us of this but the old door step, the property of the Misses Harris, which I hope may some day belong to this Society, for the feet of every early settler in Cambridge must have pressed that stone.

In 1840 many of the old houses were still standing. Having sheltered six generations in the two hundred years, they were good for many another year, but the village of Cambridge was awakening and was transforming itself into the modern city that it became in

1846. These houses stood in the way of improvements and they fell by the hand of man.

Fortunately for us, Miss Eliza Susan Quincy sketched one of the oldest of these houses, which stood in the College Yard. It was built in 1688 for the Rev. Thomas Hooker, the first minister, who lived in it until he went with the Braintree Company to Connecticut. His eldest daughter became the second wife of his successor, Rev. Thomas Shepard, and was mistress for eight years of the house built for her father. The year after her death the minister married a third wife, Margaret Boradel, and dying two years later left church and house and wife to his successor, Rev. Jonathan Mitchell, who bought the house in 1651, and lived in it eighteen years, until his death in 1668.

The next occupant of whom we have any knowledge was President John Leverett, 1696-1724; next it became the property of Professor Wigglesworth, first Hollis professor of Divinity. His son succeeded him in the professorship and in the ownership of the house, living in it until his death in 1794. After that Richard H. Dana, the first of the name, lived in it, and it had other occupants whose names we do not know. During its last years a school for little girls was held here by Miss Austin and later by Miss Mary Hedge, which was attended by some of the older members of this Society.

Another house built in this same year was standing within the memory of many, the Haynes house, on the west side of Winthrop Square. This was built by John Haynes, Governor of Massachusetts and Connecticut, who went to the latter State with the Hooker Company in 1636. Mr. Littlefield thinks that this mansion was built around a court like the house that Governor Haynes later built in Connecticut, but the memory of those who knew the house in its latter days does not confirm this theory. It was to this house that the widow of Rev. Jose Glover came when she landed here with her fatherless children, the Daye family, and the first printing-press. Here it was that she married Henry Dunster, first President of Harvard College. Alas, the house rich in so many associations went in the fifties!

Another house about which old people still talk, and which fell before the middle of the nineteenth century, is the Hancock house.

It stood on the east side of Dunster Street, about a hundred yards south of Harvard Square, and was built by Nathaniel Hancock in 1634. He died young, about 1648; his widow and children lived here, and his famous grandson, John Hancock, of Lexington, Harvard College 1689, called "the Bishop" (grandfather of Governor John Hancock, signer of the Declaration of Independence), was born in this house. The Hancocks owned and lived in it for nearly a century, and it then became the home of Judge Samuel Danforth, who was here almost fifty years, until Revolutionary times. The house is described when it was destroyed, "as old and weather beaten, with second storey projecting quite three feet beyond the lower floor."

Another house that fell in 1843 was the Old Parsonage, built in 1670, in the College Yard, east of the Hooker House. Its first occupant was Rev. Urian Oakes. Next came Rev. Nathaniel Gookin, and he was followed by the revered pastor, Rev. William Brattle. His successor, Rev. Nathaniel Appleton, was living here at the time of the Revolution, and was followed by Rev. Timothy Hilliard. The last minister to live here was Rev. Abiel Holmes. After that probably various professors occupied it until it was pulled down.

Another house, to the existence of which eyewitnesses remain, was that built for Captain Patrick, the blustering Irishman who trained the earliest settlers in their military duties. He came here in 1632. After his welcome departure Christopher Cane lived here; his daughter Ruth Cane married that picturesque character Marmaduke Johnson, who, sent out here in 1660 by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, for the purpose of printing the Indian Bible, used his spare time in making love to the Puritan maidens while he had a wife in England, to the great dismay and annoyance of the magistrates. He lived only four years after his marriage, but Ruth must have loved him, for she left the house to her family on condition that Marmaduke's son "did not come out of England to get it."

Judah Monis, who abjured Judaism and embraced Christianity in 1723, and the following year was made professor of Hebrew, bought this house, that same year, of the Canes. After the Battle of Bunker Hill it was used as a hospital, and the Baron von Riede-

sel and his family were quartered in it for a short time. Later it was bought by the learned Thaddeus Mason, who died here in 1802, aged ninety-five. It stood at the southeast corner of Winthrop and Boylston Streets, with its fine old door on the former street and beautiful garden behind.

Directly opposite stood a quaint little house which disappeared so silently that no one marked the date of its going. It was supposed to have been built for that Mrs. Elizabeth Sherborne who concealed and cared for Rev. Thomas Shepard before he left London. She died in 1652. It was long the home of Peter Towne, sexton of the First Church, who was one of the earliest abolitionists, as in his will, dated 1705, he freed his slaves and left them legacies. John Bradish succeeded him.

Another seventeenth-century house that gave place to a college club-house only six years ago stood on the corner of Holyoke Street and Holyoke Place. Joseph Cooke, the friend of Shepard, and his descendants lived there for more than a century, the original house having been rebuilt and much enlarged in 1668. In 1787 it was bought by President Holyoke as a dower house for his wife, who lived here during her widowhood, her son-in-law, Professor Eliphallet Pearson, continuing to reside there after her death. Later it was owned by the Winthrops.

All these houses were in the village, that is, between the College Yard and the river. There was also a group of four houses of like early date and architecture on Holmes Place. They were the Meane-Hastings house, the Percival-Greene house, the Parks-Gannett house, and the house of Moses Richardson, later the home of Royal Morse. All these are gone, the last being taken down in 1888.

I have dwelt so long on the early houses that I have left no time for the stately mansions of the next century. These are better known to us and have been often described. Fortunately Tory Row still continues to be the aristocratic end of the town, and the houses have not fallen in the social scale, and lapsed into that sad state that pains us in so many old towns. Only three of the pre-Revolutionary houses, as far as I now remember, have fallen from their high estate: the Ralph Inman house, that once stood where the City Hall now stands, which has been taken to Brookline Street

and curtailed of its fair proportions; the Lechmere-Sewell house, better known to us as the Riedesel house, moved from under its fine lindens and partly rebuilt and now standing at the corner of Riedesel Avenue and Brattle Street; and the house of Professor John Winthrop, to whose hospitable door the scientists of his day all came, and where the meetings of the Committee of Safety were held in the dark days before the Revolution. This house, on the northwest corner of Mount Auburn and Boylston Streets, has been turned around to face the latter street and transformed into a small shop, so that it no longer bears any likeness to the learned professor's home.

The eighteenth-century houses in Cambridge fall into three groups. In the first group were the gambrel-roofed houses, like the Holmes house. We still have with us the Wadsworth house, 1726, the Brattle house, 1727, the John Hicks house, Dunster Street, corner of Winthrop Street, and the Captain Edward Marrett house, originally built on the northeast corner of Dunster and Mount Auburn Streets, but lately turned around to the south and now numbered 77 Mount Auburn Street. This house is noticeable for its fine paneled door, a replica of the east door of the Vassall house. These two houses were built in 1760.

Of the grander houses, in the style we call Colonial, we have several that form the second group: Craigie house, 1759, Apthorp house, Fayerweather house, and Elmwood, all built about 1760. To which should be added as worthy of note, though built after the Revolution, the Philips-Norton house, on Irving Street, 1790, and the Thomas Lee house, 153 Brattle street, 1799.

In the third group I would place those humbler houses that followed more closely the seventeenth-century houses, such as the Read house, 1726, the Waterhouse house, 1740, and the Watson-Davenport house, at the corner of Massachusetts and Rindge Avenues.

A fine example of the house of a rich merchant at the beginning of the nineteenth century is that of Mr. John Chipman Gray, corner of Fresh Pond Lane and Brattle Street. Its spacious front and high-studded rooms conceal the older Wyeth house, whose small windows, paneled doors and quaint chimney cupboards are still to be seen at the back of the house.

We have much yet to learn of our old houses, but the past gives up its secrets grudgingly and only to the persevering seeker. May there be many such in our Society!

At the conclusion of Mrs. Gozzaldi's paper the meeting was dissolved.

THE TWENTY-FIRST MEETING

THE TWENTY-FIRST MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held the twenty-fifth day of April, nineteen hundred and eleven, at a quarter before eight o'clock in the evening, in Emerson Hall, Room J, Harvard University.

The President, RICHARD HENRY DANA, presided.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

For the first topic of the meeting Rev. EDWARD H. HALL, D.D., read the following paper :

THE CAMBRIDGE HUMANE SOCIETY

ON January 2, 1911, this Society received notice of the disbandment of the Cambridge Humane Society, which had just completed the ninety-seventh year of its beneficent activity. It passed away as quietly as it had lived. Though challenging little attention from the city at large, its career had been a most interesting one, and the annals of the Cambridge Historical Society, no less than the chronicles of our city for nearly a century, would be incomplete without some record of this otherwise unheralded event. Two small volumes with faded leaves are the sole memorial it has left to us; my duty to-night is to give this brief story a permanent place upon our pages. Once before this story has been told, and I cannot do better than to begin this sketch by citing the main passages of Mr. Arthur Gilman's pamphlet called "An Old-Time Society." It was written for a publication called "The Cambridge of 1896," and is so complete a record of the earlier years of the Society's existence, and gives so much more intimate a sketch of that period than I could write that (with the permission of the publishers) I reproduce it here as part of my paper. [Mr. Gilman's sketch being readily accessible in its original form as printed in

"The Cambridge of Eighteen Hundred Ninety-Six," pp. 267-274, as well as in the separate pamphlet used by Dr. Hall, the portions quoted by him are herewith omitted.]

We are fortunate in having this interesting statement [above omitted] of the beginnings of our Society, written *con amore* by one who was himself for twenty-nine years its secretary, and was always one of its most devoted and distinguished laborers.

Among societies of its kind, it is doubtless the most venerable in our city. According to the Boston Directory of Charities, 1901, the only charitable organizations around Boston older than the Humane Society are these: The Boston Dispensary, 1801; The Boston Female Asylum, 1803; The Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, 1786; The Boston Episcopal Charitable Society, 1784; The Roxbury Charitable Society, 1799.

The dates given are those of incorporation. It must be remembered that the Humane Society was not incorporated, so that there may have been others, unincorporated, which are older still.

The most noteworthy feature of the history of the Society has been the roll of its membership, and the mere names of the officers and more active members whom it has enlisted in its service. Its presidents have been Rev. Abiel Holmes, D.D., who served it for twenty-three years, from 1814 to 1837; Judge Joseph Story, 1837-1845; Simon Greenleaf, 1845, 1846; John G. Palfrey, 1846-1856; William L. Whitney, 1856-1860; Stephen T. Farwell, 1860-1872; William M. Vaughan, 1872-1875; Francis G. Peabody, 1875-1879; Joseph H. Allen, 1879-1884; Samuel Batchelder, 1884-1888; Francis J. Child, 1888-1895; Richard H. Dana, 1896-1911.

Among its vice-presidents have been Prof. Henry Ware; Henry Ware Jr.; James D. Greene.

Among its secretaries we find Sidney Willard, William J. Whipple, Charles Willard, E. W. Metcalf, C. R. Metcalf, William Watriss, A. H. Ramsay, Charles E. Norton, J. C. Farnham, Samuel Longfellow, Arthur Gilman.

In view of these eminent names, as well as of the commodious quarters in which nowadays so many of our business or charitable organizations are housed, it is instructive to note that the Humane Society contented itself to the end with no special home it could call its own. It met in Porter's Tavern, the Charles River Bank,

Lyceum Hall, the Gas Office, the rooms of the Social Union, the hospitable vestry of one or another of our churches, or the private parlor of the treasurer or secretary.

It will not surprise us to discover, under this order of things, that in the treasurer's modest reports salaries play an exceedingly small part. The most valuable labors in our communities are often the gratuitous ones, contributing to the welfare of the community what money cannot repay. One trembles to think how the treasurer's statements of the Society would have mounted up, had the business men, the statesmen, the chief justices, the lawyers, even the professors, or ministers who figure upon these lists charged upon the Society the market value of services actually rendered. For a time, as many will remember, it availed itself of the assistance of college students, glad of a puny recompense for going from house to house, chiefly I think at mealtimes, to collect the small subscriptions by which the machinery of the Humane Society was so efficiently run. The sum of \$5, \$3, or \$2 from each cheerful giver was sufficient for the most part to meet the demands of administration where the best hearts and brains of the city were freely drawn upon for advice, sympathy, and aid; and \$10 was always a generous subscription. The total annual receipts upon the books averaged about \$500, rising under special incentive to \$684, \$780, and \$1033. The regular annual call upon the generosity of the Society was for a \$500 appropriation.

The records in the two books remaining I am sorry to say are of the briefest kind. The meetings were small, consisting oftener than otherwise of the officers alone, the subjects under discussion very few. Once in a while votes were passed to hold courses of addresses to draw in recruits and to inform the community of the needs of the Society, but no such meeting seems to have been held, the Society evidently preferring to do quietly and from its natural resources the duties it had originally undertaken. If this seems to you almost too monotonous a recital, I may perhaps refer to a certain mystery which overhangs the scanty records, which has caused the present historian much pains to disentangle. Two volumes were put into my hands, giving, as I was told, all the information extant concerning the Cambridge Humane Society. The first contains the official records of the Society, its birth, its lists of members

and officials, its meetings, and its final dissolution. Side by side with this, however, is another small blank-book, containing first a brief financial statement of the Old Cambridge Baptist Church, evidently the original purpose which the blank-book was intended to serve, then, as if so much valuable stationary should not be lost, passing instantly into the inner life of the Cambridge Humane Society, from 1858 to 1866. Its title is simply "Records of the Trustees of the Humane Society." No explanation of this mystic narrative is anywhere given, no statement of origin or ultimate purpose, no attempt to reconcile its facts with the original records whose existence it somewhat contemptuously ignores. Like the other record it issues from the Charles River Bank; its lists of officers and accounts of meetings correspond generally with those of the older volume, though interposing several of which that volume is quite unaware, while quietly omitting others which the older gives in full. A historian with a vivid imagination or desiring to make a good story might suspect here some grave crisis in the proceedings of the Society, some angry dissensions among those high dignitaries, which it was important not to bring to light. Let me say at once, however, though no one whom I have consulted could help me to solve this puzzle satisfactorily, I have come to the conclusion that the hidden cause of the extra volume was the question of appointing a special agent to disburse the Society's funds. Up to that time, as has been seen, all receipts and expenditures were in the hands of the members themselves, without looking abroad for advice or financial aid. About 1853, however, as is not unusual on such occasions, the question began to arise whether affairs could not be managed better by engaging a paid agent and entrusting all investigations and disbursements to his hands. For some time, according to this second chronicle, each meeting closed with some reference to this mooted question.

No strife seems to have risen over the subject, but in due time, November 29, 1853, Mr. Charles Eliot Norton was appointed a committee to consult with Dr. Samuel Sawyer, and offer him the position of agent of the Society, to visit the poor, and act also as superintendent of the evening school, to be paid for his services \$50 a month. Arrangements also were made "to procure and furnish a suitable office for the agent at the expense of the Society" (see

smaller book, November 29, 1858). According to this smaller volume, which seems to know much more about the agent than the larger and older one, this order of things continued, with various vicissitudes, for several years, first under Mr. Sawyer as agent, then under Mr. Atkinson, and finally, at the advice of the Ladies' Humane Society (founded the same year with the male Society), which had come to the financial aid of the latter in this emergency, under Mr. Charles R. Metcalf. The experiment does not seem to have been altogether successful. The agent's salary gradually decreased, a debt was incurred, which the Ladies' Society had to assist in meeting, the question of expenses became more pressing, until finally (1865-1866) the agent appears no more, and the Society reverts quietly to its original basis.

About all these matters relating to the agent, the older volume is noticeably taciturn; but in the other we come upon a single line which throws light at last upon the whole situation. It reads: "Dec. 20, 1866, Voted: that Mrs. H. W. Paine act as agent for the year of 1866." All who lived in Old Cambridge at that time and were acquainted with its humanitarian movements know very well what that statement means. For many years Mrs. Paine's interest in the poor, and wide acquaintance with their needs, her devotion to every good cause and intelligent understanding of the methods of charity, made her almost indispensable in all benevolent activities; and while she was at the head of affairs no question of salaried officials needed to be considered. It is a disappointment to be told so little of the circumstances under which her connection with the Society began, or her exact relation with it. She stood plainly in no official relation to it, but from this time till her death its charitable funds passed through her hands, and her judgment was its controlling factor. It needed nothing but her name to insure for it the confidence of the community, and nothing but her cordial support to carry out all its benevolent ambitions.

It is an interesting proof of the rich resources which the Society had at command in the conduct of its affairs that at the death of Mrs. Paine another stood ready at once to carry it on in the same spirit, and with the same command of the situation. Her death was announced to the Society, May 17, 1887, and at the same meeting the following vote was passed: "That Miss Alice R. Wells

be requested to distribute such funds as the Society raises in the way that Mrs. Paine has distributed it" (p. 62). It was added that, as in the case of Mrs. Paine, Miss Wells is thus made almoner of the Society as a private person, and not as holding any official position. Thus the future of the Society was secured, and it has come down to us of the present day with the fine stamp upon it of these two devoted almoners.

Its closing annals, as shown in our original volume, reveal therefore no changes of policy, and no fresh departures, but the same quiet processes of benevolent activity to the end. Meantime, however, as we all know, the methods of benevolence have changed inevitably with the country's advancing wealth and larger responsibilities, and new and more elaborate theories have come up to solve the problems of charity. I need not dwell upon this familiar tale, and I could not give a clearer statement of the influences at work upon all our benevolent activities than the announcement to which I have already referred, by which the Humane Society declares that its work is done. I close my narrative by giving the words of this Circular:

Whereas, the undersigned are the surviving and remaining trustees of the Cambridge Humane Society, and

Whereas, that Society was founded to provide care chiefly for the sick poor, and incidently for the relief of the indigent, and

Whereas, since the founding of the Society, the Massachusetts General Hospital, which was opened in 1821, the Cambridge Hospital, the Holy Ghost Hospital for Incurables, which take care of such cases, have been put in operation, and

Whereas, in Cambridge, the Associated Charities, the Female Humane Society, the Paine Fund, to say nothing of other organizations, take care of the Indigent,

IT IS HEREBY unanimously decided, with the full approval of the almoner of the Society, Miss Alice R. Wells, and the Treasurer, Mr. Franklin Perrin, that the Cambridge Humane Society, which has never been incorporated, be disbanded, and that the Treasurer be requested to send a list of our recent donors to the Associated Charities of Cambridge, the Female Humane Society, and the Trustees of the Paine Fund, with a notice of our disbanding.

CAMBRIDGE, January 2, 1811.

For the second topic of the meeting Hon. CHARLES J. MCINTIRE read the following paper :

WHY I STARTED THE INDEX TO PAIGE'S HISTORY OF CAMBRIDGE

I HAVE been requested by your Committee to prepare a paper for this meeting explaining how I came to start upon the work of preparing an Index to Paige's "History of Cambridge," which work happily is practically completed and has been surrendered to our Society to print and publish. In view of what now is realized as to the amount of time and careful labor which Mrs. Gozzaldi and her willing associates have been obliged to expend before giving it over to us, I confess that I feel guilty for my presumption, and recognize that my explanation must be largely in the form of apology. When Mr. Ayer overtook me on his wheel a few days ago, and somewhat abruptly announced what the Society desired me to publicly explain, I at first declined, pleading lack of time, but, upon a little urging, I promised that I would give it further consideration. Now, after having considered what mitigating circumstances I might offer, I have come prepared to make full disclosure, and to plead in "confession and avoidance," after the ancient privilege.

A complete and truthful, though very short, reply to your question would be, that I began the task of writing an index to the book because I felt its need for my personal convenience. As this answer, however, would be undoubtedly followed by the query, "Why did you, a busy man, need it so much as to be willing to undertake the task?" I will not wait for the latter inquiry, but will endeavor to state as many of the reasons as occur to me.

Primarily, every native of Cambridge naturally is, or should be, interested in all the facts of her history. Especially so should be one born upon a spot made doubly historic: first, from being a portion of the hundred-acre estate of Thomas Graves, that remarkable man whom the Massachusetts Bay Colony sent over in 1628 to aid by his genius in establishing the settlements at Charlestown and Boston, and who had occupied it with his family for nearly two years before the settlement about Harvard Square; and second, from being the landing place of the British forces, nearly one hundred and fifty

years later, on their way to Lexington and Concord, as well as being the site of Fort Putnam, constructed by Generals Putnam and Heath under the eye and personal direction of General Washington.

Added to this it is my good fortune to be lineally descended, on both paternal and maternal sides, from founders and early settlers of the "Newe Towne." My father's mother, Betsey Holman, had, for progenitors, Sparhawks, Hastingses, Meanes, Moores, Coopers, and Kidders, whom you will recognize as belonging to families closely connected with the church, civil, and military activities of the town, and who lie, some in the old Garden Street churchyard, and others in that older burial place, outside the "Common Pales," not now definitely located, but thought by Paige to be near to and westerly beyond the corner of Brattle and Ash Streets; and my mother's maternal ancestors reached back to John Talcot and his son John, who came over in 1632, with the congregation of the Rev. Thomas Hooker, and who, after a few active and important years, the older Talcot being selectman and deputy here, followed Hooker to Hartford and became prominent in the affairs of the Connecticut Colony.

These reasons alone may explain why one might have considerable interest in such a magazine of facts concerning Cambridge history as has been gathered and compiled by Dr. Paige; but it is your wish to know why my interest was so great as to induce me to undertake, unaided, a work of such proportions when official duties were occupying nearly my entire time.

Several things contributed to this. A short time before the History was printed, and about the time Dr. Paige was preparing it for publication, I had some interesting correspondence with the author concerning certain historical facts which I was then engaged in putting into a sketch, and thus I became acquainted with and interested in him as a man as well as a historian. Also, I had been a member of the board of aldermen of Cambridge in 1877, the year when the volume was published, and was appointed by the mayor, together with Mr. George F. Piper, on the special committee to distribute the five hundred copies which, under an order of the previous year, the city had purchased of Dr. Paige.

It may interest you to know, at this point, what led up to the purchase by the city. You may have noticed that the order was

passed in the year 1876, the centennial year in United States history, when patriotic emotion was universally awakened. The records of the aldermen for June 21 will show that a communication had been received from the Secretary of the Commonwealth, transmitting a copy of a joint resolution of the United States Congress, requesting the preparation and filing at Washington of an historical sketch of Cambridge from its foundation; and accordingly it was voted that the mayor be authorized and instructed to cause such a sketch to be obtained and a copy transmitted.

It is known that at this time Dr. Paige had nearly completed his history in manuscript; that unaided he did not feel like taking the financial risk of its publication; and also that he preferred to give whatever benefit might arise from its publication to his city before offering it to a publisher. Whether the interest of the Congress was fostered by friends of Dr. Paige, in order to secure the early printing of his work, I have no knowledge. It is, at the least, a coincidence.

On July 26, 1876, there was a communication from the mayor, stating that he had applied to the Rev. Dr. Lucius R. Paige for an historical sketch of Cambridge, as its contribution to the records of "the Centennial," and that he had received a reply, which he transmitted; and stating also that he should delay taking further steps before receiving additional expression of the opinion of the city council.

The correspondence over this is instructive and interesting, and the communication from Dr. Paige reads as follows:

CAMBRIDGE, July 18, 1876.

HON. ISAAC BRADFORD, Mayor of Cambridge.

DEAR SIR, — In reply to your official note of the 15th instant, permit me to say, that I am using my utmost exertions to complete a history of Cambridge, on which I have long been engaged, and which I hope may be published before the end of this year, as my Centennial offering. But this I suppose will be a much more voluminous work than is contemplated by the vote of the City Council, and would be considered too unwieldy for acceptance even if the manuscript were offered gratuitously. At my age and with imperfect health I have neither time nor strength to abridge this work into the form of an historical sketch, and therefore must decline the task which you invite me to assume.

Thereupon the matter was laid upon the table until August 28, when the mayor presented another letter from Dr. Paige, as follows:

DEAR SIR, — Your recent request that I should prepare an historical sketch of Cambridge emboldens me to make this communication. My history of Cambridge is nearly completed. It will make an octavo volume of about 750 pages, and will be put to press as the subscription list will warrant the undertaking. There is now an opportunity for the city to secure a sufficient supply of the history for a sum not greatly exceeding the cost of the proposed sketch, especially if a reasonable compensation to the writer of the sketch be included in the cost. If the city council will subscribe for five hundred copies, I may safely say that the price will not exceed four dollars per copy, neatly and substantially bound in cloth; or, if it subscribes for three hundred copies, the price will not exceed five dollars per copy. You will readily understand why the larger number can be afforded at the lower rates. With five hundred copies at an outlay not exceeding \$2000, the city can probably supply the home demand, and also, by a judicious system of exchange, place in its own library the histories of many other cities and towns not otherwise easy to be obtained.

The matter then was referred to a joint special committee, which reported on October 18, favoring the expenditure of not more than \$2000 for the purchase of five hundred copies, to be placed in the Public Library for distribution under future order. The edition was to be one of a thousand copies, one half of which number Dr. Paige would receive for his years of research and labor.

The correspondence with Dr. Paige and the action of the mayor and city council were familiar to me and had awakened my interest. Returning to my explanation, I would say, further, that, not long after the history had been published, the late Mr. Tillinghast, then our State Librarian, and engaged on his valuable work relating to colonial and provincial officials of our Commonwealth, wrote me for particulars regarding one of my forbears, Ezra McIntire, my father's grandsire, whom he had discovered as a member of the convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States. Unable at the time to give the full particulars which he desired, I began to make search, and became then mildly inspired with an interest in genealogy, and from this was led to make considerable subsequent

research, in which I was greatly aided by facts contained in the compilation of Dr. Paige.

In 1886 I was made city solicitor, holding the position for nearly eight years, and in the performance of my duties as such the assistance rendered by Paige was of inestimable value. It was during those years that I became impressed by the wealth of information which the volume contains; but I was frequently hampered and delayed when, in times of haste, I desired to ascertain some fact of importance. It seemed to me that some one, seeing, as I did, the great value and necessity, would surely undertake the preparation of an index, and gradually the idea crept into my mind that I might make one myself!

While city solicitor, however, I never found favorable opportunity to begin, my days being devoted to active duties, and my evenings to the more quiet consideration and study due to the office; and it was not until after I came into my present position that I thought I might make a beginning by devoting to it evenings and holidays.

Although I realized, before taking up the task, that necessarily many long hours must be devoted to complete it, yet it must be confessed that its actual magnitude appeared only as the work progressed. None of you who has had occasion to use freely the history need be told that it is wonderful how much Dr. Paige has put into that single volume of facts, so clearly stated in precise language and without embellishment. He was seventy-six years old when it was published, and had been many years gathering and arranging every item of importance he could find by careful and diligent search at reliable and original sources. He had no faculty of imagination, no power of constructing a long story out of a few facts; and that he fully realized this is shown when, in introducing his completed work, he naïvely writes concerning it, that "the almost entire absence of legendary lore may be regretted; but it should be considered that while it may have been my misfortune, it was not my fault that I was not born in Cambridge and that I had no opportunity in the first thirty years of my life to gather the local traditions which so deeply impress the youthful mind, and which tinge the facts of history with such a brilliant, though often a deceptive light."

I commenced the index for my own personal use and comfort,

coupled with a feeling of satisfaction that it might be of assistance also to my family and friends. It was with no intention of publishing that I began, but while engaged upon it, it did occur to me that possibly, if the effort was a success, at some future time the city might become sufficiently interested to put it in print, for I understood fully the value of such aid to all municipal officers.

In the beginning I took the old-fashioned method of indexing, — that is, by means of a blank book with the letters of the alphabet cut in its margin, — and hopefully I supposed that when the labor was completed this book would be my index for use. I labored in this way for some time. After a while, however, finding that the work never could be accomplished successfully on those lines, I relinquished what I had done and commenced anew, using the card system.

The work became more interesting as it progressed, and as its proportions grew and were more definitely indicated, more time was devoted to it, depriving me of necessary rest and exercise. During the entire period I was performing each day my full judicial duty, and, as should have been expected, after continuing for a considerable time, and when about one third of the chapters were indexed, nature rebelled, and, attacked by nervous indigestion, I was ordered away, to cease all work not obligatory, and devote myself to restoring my health. Reluctantly I put away my material, hoping that at some future time I might take it up again and pursue it to completion.

Such, then, is my explanation, and my apology for venturing upon the undertaking; but the story of the index itself needs a few words to bring it down to the present favorable result.

Some time after I had desisted, as I have described, Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who, with the rest of us, had suffered for the want of the index, suggested to Mrs. Mary I. Gozzaldi that the Hannah Winthrop Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, of which she was then Regent, might do a good and patriotic thing by putting its members at work preparing an index to Paige. Neither she nor he at the time had any information of the beginning which had been made by me, and she brought the subject to the attention of the members at a meeting which soon followed. One of my daughters, then a member, informed the

meeting of what had already been accomplished in that direction, saying that I would gladly contribute it. Thereupon the work was taken up with enthusiasm, was divided among a committee of sixteen members, and an advisory committee was appointed outside of their body. Mrs. Gozzaldi took the direction of the task, and with zeal devoted herself unceasingly to its completion, taking for herself the hardest and largest part, the genealogical; and now after nearly seven years from the time of the suggestion made by Colonel Higginson, and after many interruptions, obstacles, and lapses, the almost completed work is in our hands, a monument to the energy of woman. If, as I hope, my effort has relieved the good ladies, who have gone on, undismayed, with so much determination and persistency to the end, of but a small amount of the labor which proved necessary to complete the undertaking, then I am fully requited for the little which I succeeded in accomplishing.

May I add a few closing words about Dr. Paige, who has left us all his debtors for one of the best, if not the best, municipal history ever written? Some of you knew him personally, and others have often seen him upon our streets, about the city hall, and in the banks, where once he had been officially connected. His picture, the frontispiece of the history, is an excellent likeness as he appeared at the time of its publication, and he retained the same appearance, allowing but little for increasing years, to the time of his death, in 1896, in the ninety-fifth year of his age.

Dr. Paige was a man of methodical habits, gentle and genial in manner, easily approached, and ever willing to assist others from his store of knowledge and wealth of manuscript. Behind a serious countenance there lurked a quiet humor, in which he liked to indulge when with friends. He was unpretentious, occupying for his home during most of his life the modest dwelling where he died, at the corner of Washington and Pine Streets. He was ever precise in statement, and in all matters showed the same regard for detail as is manifested in his histories. At the age of ninety his writing remained the same legible, bold, and steady hand which characterized it forty years before.

Last week I examined Dr. Paige's will, which is on the files at my court. Leaving an estate of but moderate amount, as measured in these days, the will disposing of it consists of ten closely written

pages, of foolscap size, copied by his own hand in 1888, and supplemented by four codicils, making in all an instrument of nineteen pages. You may imagine what an interesting document it proves to be, illustrating his character of precision, his fulness of detail, his clear and unmistakable direction, and provision for every possible contingency, as likewise his thoughtfulness, charity, and benevolence.

A very limited synopsis of the will is this: First, a very liberal provision is made for his wife, who survived him ten years and is said to have been his first sweetheart; but at the same time he shows that he does not forget those other wives whom she succeeded. In the very fulness of his usual elaborate detail, when mentioning those whom he wishes to lie with him in his lot at Mt. Auburn, for which he provides perpetual care, he calls by their full names all of his four wives in the exact order of their instalment, the clause reading in part, "for the purpose of securing it as a burial place for myself and my present wife, Ann M. Paige, for my deceased wives, Clarinda R. Paige, Abigail R. W. Paige, and Lucy R. Paige," and so on, naming other persons.

After this provision he gives to many relatives and friends specific small bequests, and is most generous to the town of Hardwick, the place of his birth, which town he makes his residuary legatee, leaving to it, after the death of his widow, all his books, manuscripts, and his many articles of historic and other interest, therein specially named, and providing for the erection of a library building to be called after his family name of Paige.

Tufts College, which gave him his degree of D.D. in 1861, receives, in addition to \$5000, which he had before given, \$2000 for a "Paige" scholarship for Divinity students, and, if Hardwick should decline to accept his gift upon the conditions he prescribes, Tufts should have the books, manuscripts, etc. for its college library.

I regret that this Society cannot have what he describes as the "round maple table, which was a part of my mother's outfit when she was married in 1780, and on which was written a large portion of my Commentary on the New Testament and the Histories of Cambridge and Hardwick"; but I was pleased to find that the will discloses the existence of a bust of him, made by Dexter, which is also given to Hardwick. And I venture to suggest that for a com-

paratively small sum, if not a replica, at least a plaster cast, might be made from this, and placed in our own Library, or elsewhere, in some convenient place, where it may be seen and enjoyed by our Cambridge citizens.

For the third topic of the meeting Professor FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER read a paper on :

HISTORY AND THE LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

This paper, unfortunately, it has not been possible to obtain for publication.

At the conclusion of Professor Turner's paper the meeting was dissolved.

THE TWENTY-SECOND MEETING
BEING THE SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

THE TWENTY-SECOND MEETING, being the Seventh Annual Meeting, of THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held the twenty-fourth day of October, nineteen hundred and eleven, at a quarter before eight o'clock in the evening, in Emerson Hall, Room J, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The President, RICHARD HENRY DANA, presided.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The following persons were chosen a committee to consider and report a list of nominations for the officers of the Society for the ensuing year: HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY, FRANKLIN PERRIN, and STEPHEN PASCHALL SHARPLES.

On behalf of the Council ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE submitted its Annual Report, as follows :

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

FIVE meetings of the Council have been held, the first four at the President's house, 113 Brattle Street, and the fifth at Emerson Hall, Room J, Harvard University.

At the first meeting, January 6, 1911, \$75 were appropriated to secure title and possession of the card Index to Paige's History of Cambridge, prepared by members of the Hannah Winthrop Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and to get a proper copy of the Index, besides the other details to be settled.

At the second meeting, April 6, 1911, the President, Colonel T W. Higginson as Vice-President, and the Secretary were appointed delegates to attend the banquet of The First Volunteers Citizens'

Association, which was held April 17, 1911, at Memorial Hall. Various committees were chosen to arrange for proper shelving of the Society's collection at the Public Library, to consider additions to the membership, and to consider the expediency of an historical exhibit during the ensuing year, while some changes were made in the membership of the standing committees.

At the third meeting, June 1, 1911, the Council voted to have a memorial meeting in honor of the late Thomas Wentworth Higginson (who died at Cambridge, May 9, 1911), to be held December 21, 1911, the evening before the anniversary of his birth, and a committee of five with full power was appointed. Another committee of three was appointed to assist Mrs. Gozzaldi in the preparation for publication of the Index to Paige's History.

At the fourth meeting, October 6, 1911, arrangements were perfected for the Fall Meeting. The President appointed, as a special committee for the memorial to Colonel Higginson, Messrs. Cook, Bailey, Bell, Thayer, and, by request, himself. The Secretary's resignation was received and accepted.

At the fifth meeting, October 24, 1911, was transacted necessary business preliminary to the Annual Meeting of the Society on the same evening.

Three stated meetings of the Society were held: the first in the Cambridge Latin School, the other two in Emerson Hall, Room J, Harvard University.

At the first meeting, held October 25, 1910, Mrs. Mary Isabella Gozzaldi made the first report of the special committee on the descendants from the early settlers of Cambridge. The chief paper of the evening was entitled "The Adventures of John Nutting, Cambridge Loyalist," by Samuel F. Batchelder, Esq., a most interesting and exhaustive paper, disclosing an almost forgotten incident in pre-Revolutionary history.

At the second meeting, held January 24, 1911, the purchase of the Index to Paige's History was reported as accepted by the Hannah Winthrop Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. An invitation from Stoughton Bell, Esq., chairman of the Association to celebrate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Departure of the First Volunteers from Cambridge to the Front, was received and referred to the Council.

Archibald M. Howe, Esq., read a paper on "The Arsenal at Arsenal Square and the Identification of the Cannon on Cambridge Common," exhibiting photographs.

Mr. Charles K. Bolton, as President of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, gave a clear account of the aims of the Society, producing pictures of important ancient buildings in Europe and other countries.

Mrs. Mary Isabella Gozzaldi read a paper giving "Some Account of a Few Old Cambridge Houses."

At the third meeting, held April 25, 1911, a communication from the Park Commissioners stated that they had included in their estimates a sum sufficient to make the necessary repairs on the gun carriages on Cambridge Common, which Mr. Howe had referred to as unfit and dangerous.

The President appointed a committee of three, Mrs. Gozzaldi, Miss Elizabeth Harris, and Mrs. R. H. Dana, on the advisability of having an historical loan exhibit during the coming year.

Rev. Dr. Edward H. Hall read a paper on "The Cambridge Humane Society."

Hon. Charles J. McIntire, Judge of Probate for Middlesex County, referred pleasantly to Mr. Hall as chaplain of his regiment in the Civil War, and read a very interesting address entitled "Why I Started the Index to Paige's History of Cambridge."

Prof. Frederick J. Turner followed, giving the Society suggestions as to the value to our fellow citizens not of Anglo-Saxon origin of local historical research made in all places where men have had their beginnings, in our country and among all races of men, that their history may touch more points than are emphasized when we repeatedly return to Plymouth Rock.

During the year past the Society has lost by death four regular members: Eliza Jane Nesmith Bouton, May 20; William Bullard Durant, October 4; Thomas Wentworth Higginson, May 9; John Taylor Gilman Nichols, August 26.

The Longfellow medal for the best essay upon "Home Life in Longfellow's Poetry" was awarded for the year to Miss Elizabeth Chadwick Beale, a pupil and graduate of Miss Constance B. Wiliston's School.

As each year passes, our members should become more and more

ready to take active part in the doings of the Society, for they should consider how important any genuine historical work may be that presents the true value of the past to all our citizens, many of whom were born in European countries where the beginnings of America are little known, and thousands of whom have no knowledge of our local history and its relation to the best ideals that are maintained to-day.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

IN the Report of the Council has been included, in conformity with precedent, much material that might consistently form part of the Report of the Secretary. His task has accordingly been lessened and limited in its scope to incidental details of the work of the preceding year.

His chief labor has been the preparation for the printer of the annual volume of Proceedings V. The delay in its preparation has been as unusual as unexpected, one early cause being due to the wish of Mr. Samuel F. Batchelder to obtain for his address on "The Adventures of John Nutting, Cambridge Loyalist" verification and amplification of certain data for which he had been obliged to send again to England. This painstaking attention to details is only one of several distinctions which Mr. Batchelder may justly claim for his address, combining, as it does, exceptional scholarship and research, as shown conspicuously in his elaborate notes and citations, and marked interest and vigor of style.

In the make-up of the new volume of Proceedings it is to be noted that the exhaustion at the Dalton mills of the former issue of paper for the outside cover and the impossibility of exact reproduction have compelled a change of color, that chosen being a delicate bluish gray in place of the older dark olive green. On the score of uniformity for the issue of the whole set of Proceedings this change is a matter of regret, but it has not diminished the attractiveness of the new volume.

Special attention has been given to the development of the part of the Proceedings under the heading Necrology. In this work Mr. William R. Thayer and Mr. Hollis R. Bailey, serving as the

Committee on Memoirs of Deceased Members, were aided chiefly by Mrs. Mary Isabella Gozzaldi and the Secretary. The files of the Society's collection contain the original accounts, of which the printed Necrology consists, in most instances, of abstracts. In this field of the activities of the Society there will always be important work to do, for the Society includes in its membership men and women of note in the community, the record of whose lives ought to be written as soon as possible after their deaths, and placed on file for convenient reference at all times.

The award of the Longfellow Prize Medal for the best essay of this year, the topic being "Home Life in Longfellow's Poems," was attended by circumstances of peculiar interest, especially in consideration of the fact that the meeting in Miss Willard's School on Berkeley Street, where the award was made, was the last in which the late Colonel Higginson appeared in public. In his own inimitable manner, which at the same time showed conscious effort, he spoke to the pupils of the school and to a few others present, including several members of the Council of the Society, about his own association with the Longfellow home, in amplification of the topic of the award; and at the end he presented to the winner of the Prize Medal, Miss Elizabeth Chadwick Beale, a mounted group of photographs of the poet taken at different ages, which he had kept by him for many years. Mr. Thayer, as chairman of the Committee on the award of the Prize Medal, presided, and Mr. Dana, as President of the Society, spoke feelingly of the perfect harmony and beauty of the home life of Longfellow, of which the speaker's own intimate relationship with the family gave full knowledge.

As time goes on, the duties devolving upon the Secretary of the Society promise a steady increase; and it behooves the members of the Society as a whole, and the Council in particular, to see to it that the Secretary, whether or not he is to serve voluntarily and without compensation, shall be given all possible aid, through active co-operation of the regular standing committees, and of new committees for special occasions as they may arise.

CLARENCE WALTER AYER

Secretary

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., October 24, 1911

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CURATOR

THE additions to the collection of the Society have been few. The number of bound volumes is 163, and the increase for the past year 28; the number of pamphlets and unbound issues is 820, and the increase 61. The card catalogue has easily been kept up to date, and the work upon it and upon the last volume of the Proceedings has been done, as before, by Miss Ella S. Wood.

Among the gifts to the Society have been the following: from Archibald M. Howe, Esq., a series of photographs of the Cambridge Arsenal and the cannon on the Common, which he had prepared in connection with his Address for the Society thereupon, and also a number of books and magazines, including a partial set of the Harvard Graduates' Magazine, which was made complete, from October, 1892, to June, 1911, vols. 1-19, by a supply of missing numbers from duplicates given by the Cambridge Public Library; from Miss Susanna Willard, 37 manuscript sermons of the Rev. Joseph Willard; and from Mr. George Howland Cox, a framed page of a Vicksburg, Mississippi, newspaper, printed on the back of a piece of wall paper, July 2, 1863.

In the last annual report of the Curator was given an outline of the arrangement of the Society's collection, to which attention is here called. Its location, as now made in part of a spare room on the second floor of the Public Library, is obviously unsatisfactory, but its material can be readily consulted. The lapse of one more year only makes the need of adequate quarters for the collection by so much the more pressing, and opens still wider the opportunity for some generous benefactor to present the Society with a new building, conveniently located and suitably equipped.

CLARENCE WALTER AYER

Curator

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., October 24, 1911

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

IN obedience to the requirements of the By-Laws the Treasurer herewith presents his Annual Report of the Receipts and Disbursements for the year 1910-1911.

CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance, 25 October, 1910		\$228.46
Admission Fees	\$4.00	
Annual Assessments: Regular Members	\$519.00	
Associate Members	18.00	537.00
Commutation of the Annual Dues:		
Two Regular Members	100.00	
Interest	11.18	
Society's Publications sold	4.80	\$656.98
		<u>\$885.44</u>

EXPENDITURES

The University Press, printing bills, etc.	\$9.00	
Bureau of Printing and Engraving, printing notices and postal cards	19.50	
The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, paper used in printing Publications IV.	28.22	
Hannah Winthrop Chapter D. A. R., card Index of Paige's History of Cambridge	50.00	
Harriet L. Horne, clerical services rendered the Treasurer	25.00	
Edna M. Bullard, stenography and typewriting	10.73	
Sarah L. Patrick, typewriting	8.50	
Thomas F. Cahir, janitor service	3.00	
Postage	17.00	\$170.95
Cataloguing the Collections:		
Ella Sites Wood, services	\$33.25	
Library Bureau, index cards	1.50	34.75
General Fund, Commutation Fees received during the year	100.00	
Balance on deposit 20 October, 1911	579.74	
		<u>\$885.44</u>

The unusually large balance of cash on hand is accounted for by the fact that the Committee of Publication has been unavoidably delayed in getting out the Transactions for the past year, hence the bill for this number has not yet been received.

HENRY H. EDES

Treasurer

CAMBRIDGE, October 20, 1911

REPORT OF THE AUDITOR

I FIND the foregoing account from 25 October, 1910, to 20 October, 1911, to have been correctly kept and to be properly vouched.

I have also verified the Cash Balance of \$579.74.

A. McF. DAVIS
Auditor

The report of the Committee on Nominations was read and accepted and the Committee was discharged.

The following persons, nominated by the Committee, were elected by ballot for the ensuing year :

The Council

CLARENCE WALTER AYER,
HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY,
FRANK GAYLORD COOK,
RICHARD HENRY DANA,
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS,
ARTHUR DRINKWATER,
HENRY HERBERT EDES,

MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI,
EDWARD HENRY HALL,
ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE,
WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,
ALICE MARY LONGFELLOW,
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

<i>President</i>	RICHARD HENRY DANA.
<i>Vice-Presidents</i>	{ ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.
	{ EDWARD HENRY HALL.
	{ ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE.
<i>Secretary</i>	ARTHUR DRINKWATER.
<i>Curator</i>	CLARENCE WALTER AYER.
<i>Treasurer</i>	HENRY HERBERT EDES.

The SECRETARY-ELECT was duly sworn.

For the first topic of the meeting Rev. GEORGE HODGES, D.D., read the following paper :

MARY HUNTINGTON COOKE

MARY HUNTINGTON COOKE was born in Lowell, Massachusetts, in 1833, on the third day of September. She was married to Professor Josiah Parsons Cooke, in 1860, from the same house in

which she was born. She died on the twenty-first of May, 1911, in her seventy-eighth year.

In a privately printed sketch of the early years of her distinguished brother, Dr. William Reed Huntington, Mrs. Cooke described the character and public service of their father:

"Dr. Elisha Huntington came to Lowell when it was a very small town, about the year 1826. He was a young physician, fresh from the Yale Medical School, and began practice at once. One of the first evidences of his unselfishness, which was one of his main characteristics, was in the very early days of his residence there. A stranger was attacked with virulent smallpox, and as there was no provision in Lowell for such a case, he placed him in a deserted house on the outskirts of the town. No man was willing to go to the sick man, in dread of the disease. Dr. Huntington at once offered his services, and quarantined himself, sharing the man's solitude, and caring for him throughout his sickness.

"His medical services were always very welcome, and he was always ready to give to the poor and afflicted, being singularly indifferent to any compensation for his services; and by his generosity and kindness he won St. Luke's name of the Beloved Physician. He was also President of the Massachusetts Medical Society.

"At the time of his death the whole city was in mourning.

"He rendered great service to Lowell, after it became a city, by serving several terms as mayor, in spite of the encroachment upon his medical work. He gave the city the best of his powers. Whenever it was rent and disturbed by political troubles, the people always turned to him as a last resort. . . . He served as Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts with Governor Clifford, and was very much interested in the State Prison work. Those were the days before the Associated Charities and the new views of political economy, and the only thing brought up against him by his enemies when he was candidate for mayor, was that he was too good to the poor. Owing to his life of charity and sacrifice, he died a poor man, leaving behind him a blessed memory."

Occasional references in this tribute of affection reveal the mother as a "gentle and loving spirit," not strong in body, but strong in character, and a constant inspiration to her children. She had the gift of cheerfulness, and never permitted the ills of life to "shadow the sunshine of her nature." In this she was helped by a devout faith. She brought her children with her into the privileges of religion.

Out of this home, where the service of God and of man was taught by continual example, Mary Huntington brought qualities which determined her life. She combined her father's concern for the common welfare with her mother's capacity for happiness. She knew how to take life seriously, but not too seriously. She did good instinctively, and was simply and naturally religious. She had the fine quality which appears in Holy Scripture, and disappears for a long time in the Middle Ages, and at last encounters the disapproval of the Puritans,—the quality of being a saint and of being "merry and joyful" notwithstanding.

Her marriage with Professor Cooke developed all these pleasant virtues. He was not only an eminent man of science, a pioneer of modern chemistry, and one of the glories of Harvard College, but he was "one of the first professors to take a vital interest in the students in a social way." He liked to have them about him. Groups of them came to tea on Sunday evenings, and read and talked with him, and before they went home family prayers were said.

Mrs. Cooke found in Cambridge an association with an old-fashioned name, and a long and honorable history, called the Female Humane Society. Its work of relieving the needs of the poor appealed to her, and she joined it. Its endeavors to supply the distressed with food and coal and clothing seemed to her in line with the philanthropy of her father. She particularly interested herself in that part of the service of the Society which provided sewing for poor women. At the beginning of this enterprise the women had to be taught to sew, and after that instruction had been effectively given the managers still cut out the clothing for them. The women took it home, and brought it back completed, and it was then sold—to the women, if they wished to buy it, at an annual sale opened to all purchasers. With the money from such sales, increased by private subscriptions, the material was provided and the women were paid for their work. They were thus given employment, and were enabled to buy garments at small cost. Every week Mrs. Cooke and her associates spent hours cutting out these garments, and sometimes as many as a hundred women came to take them home.

This work prepared Mrs. Cooke to take an understanding inter-

est in the establishment of the Associated Charities, in 1881, and she became one of the vice-presidents of that organization.

She was made almoner of several charitable funds, which she personally administered. She visited the beneficiaries in their homes, helped them out of their troubles, and gave them not only alms and good advice but sincere friendship, and had their devoted attachment in return. She cared much for the little gifts which some of them sent her at Christmas time, sometimes queer, sometimes pathetic, but always evidences of strong affection.

The Missionary Society of the ladies of the congregation of St. John's Memorial Chapel held its monthly meeting at her house, and she gave to its activities a generous measure of her time and energy.

When her nephew, Dr. Oliver Huntington, started Cloyne School for boys, at Newport, Rhode Island, Mrs. Cooke took a deep and helpful interest in that undertaking. One of her many gifts was an infirmary completely filled with all necessities for the comfort and recovery of sick boys.

She interested herself greatly in the work of the Cambridge Hospital, and at the time of her death was president of its Women's Aid Association.

In 1878, when the first steps were definitely taken towards the establishment of Radcliffe College, Mrs. Cooke was one of the seven ladies who constituted a "committee" to bring the matter to the attention of the public. The others were Mrs. Gilman, Mrs. Greenough, Miss Longfellow, Miss Horsford (now Mrs. Farlow), Mrs. Agassiz, and Mrs. Gurney. Her wisdom and vision and counsel contributed to make that experiment an assured and increasing success. She never ceased to concern herself helpfully with its affairs. Into this also she brought that friendly care for the individual which was characteristic of her. She interested herself not only in the College but in the students.

She had a genius for friendship, and a singular memory for the details of people's lives. She remembered anniversaries, and knew the names of children, and kept the domestic affairs of her friends so accurately in mind that she seemed a member of their own family. She was sister and aunt and foster mother to a hundred people.

Thus she lived her useful life, quietly and busily, keeping her left

hand in ignorance of the good deeds of her right, sustained in pain and trouble by the strength of religion, and making the world more pleasant every day for those about her.

For the second topic of the meeting Professor LEWIS JEROME JOHNSON made the following address :

HISTORY AND MEANING OF THE PROPOSED NEW CHARTER FOR CAMBRIDGE

MR. PRESIDENT, Ladies and Gentlemen : I am afraid I may have to offer the history and meaning of the proposed new Cambridge charter in a somewhat intertwined form ; there will be some " history " and I hope some " meaning. " I think possibly, however, they will run along together without confusion.

The history of the Cambridge charter might include the history of the democratic movement in government which has been going on for centuries. But I am sure that I shall have your approval if I skip these centuries and come down at once to the last decade, and even perhaps to the last two years. In the last ten years most significant progress has been made in devising means for improving American city government. The last decade is, in fact, the most interesting one in our history in this respect. It is gratifying to us who love our old Massachusetts traditions that this decade seems to be making effective the hopes and aspirations which we in Massachusetts have held for generations. It is gratifying to be able to reflect that our purposes and ideals have been correct all the time and that defective details in the machinery account in the main for not securing the ends desired. From the experience of the last two decades, and of the last decade particularly, we have learned how to correct some of the worst of these mistakes. This seems particularly clear to me because it falls within the line of my profession, that of an engineer. Our purpose was fine, but defects in details have become evident. What to do seems clear.

These four lines from the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of Massachusetts, adopted a century and a third ago, express in a few words, which cannot be bettered to-day, what our purpose was and I believe is still :

"ART. VII. Government is instituted for the common good ; for the protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness of the people ; and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men."

But the private interests of various men have found numerous ways to creep in and gain precedence in government — in cities and States and in the nation. They have intrenched themselves in the institutions set up to keep them in check. What was worked out — the checks and balances, and all the rest — was a system which conceivably might work if economic conditions never put temptations in men's way and if various other things were so which are not. But, be that as it may, it is a system which has notoriously failed to produce the desired results, particularly in our cities. One of our chief national causes for disappointment has been the government of our cities, but to-day we think we see pretty good reasons why that failure has occurred. In my opinion, we started by misunderstanding the nature of the city problem. We have been firm in the faith that our form of city government must be in the main correct because it involves the federal form of checks and balances, the Montesquieu fetich, fascination with which was one of the worst of the fathers' errors. Open to grave question as this principle is in general, it is particularly unsuited to city organization. For city government is mainly executive, and efficiency, simplicity, and responsiveness to the public will would seem obviously to be prime requisites. But, unfortunately, as our cities developed, we thoughtlessly applied to them the federal form of government. Results were bad. For decades we contented ourselves by scolding our good citizens because they did not make this old arrangement work. We assumed that if anything of so respectable an origin did not work some *person* must be to blame. We see, however, that something else must be done. We are coming to see that it is but a waste of time and energy trying to beseech and scold our best citizens into jumping to the task of making the venerable system work. It might work, I admit, if everybody were a sort of Columbus for daring, and a St. Thomas for self-abnegation. But our citizens are not all of such a type. Meanwhile the same old system has gone right on doing its harm.

In order to start the American citizen straight on this thing, it

required a physical catastrophe of appalling magnitude. When the waters had subsided from a devastated city, the people of Galveston saw that something both intelligent and radical had to be done. The politicians stepped aside at once. They said, "While ordinary conditions suit our purposes finely, heaven knows there is nothing in this situation for us; we surrender." So there was appointed a commission of five men to succeed them, violating tradition after tradition, and discarding particularly those happy havens for inefficiency and corruption, the double chamber system and divided powers. These results were so good that the neighboring city of Houston said, "Well, if that thing works so well in the wrecked city of Galveston, why can it not work well in a city that is not yet destroyed?" and so they followed suit in Houston, and so it has gone on from those beginnings right through the country. The form of city government which has constantly and persistently been getting American cities into trouble is clearly doomed. We shall doubtless have a wide range of experiments in the search for improvement, but it looks as if it would be pretty hard to get far away from the so-called commission form.

The Galveston charter discarded the old form, root and branch, and put all the powers of the city into the hands of a single board of five responsible persons, elected at large, and thus established concentration of power and responsibility. That was an enormous stride forward. From the point of view of efficiency, it covered the ground. It also attained simplicity.

Now, the spread of this sort of thing throughout the country was greatly hastened by the work of Des Moines. There they retained the simplicity and efficiency of the Galveston form, but added a new, though, for permanently good results, probably indispensable feature, the power of direct popular control of the commission through the Initiative and Referendum and Recall. This gives what should be an effective means of controlling the city business, however the officers may be elected. In Galveston the way it has worked out, the publicity and conspicuousness attending all that these five men do, has been such as to produce admirable results. In Des Moines they not only have all that, but have secured more; they have the Initiative, by which the people can pass a measure over the head of the council; the Referendum, by which the people

can, by popular vote, veto an act of the city council ; and the Recall, whereby the people can remove a commissioner from office before the expiration of his term.

Now, that Des Moines charter was adopted in 1907 and went into effect in 1908. The germination of the seed that was planted in Galveston in 1901 had been comparatively slow ; the growth was bound to come, but other cities were getting the news and beginning to think. The word came to Cambridge and this vicinity largely through President Eliot. He, as some of you will recollect, returning from a trip that he had been making among the Texas cities, told of the marvelous results that had been obtained, principally in Houston. He reported asking one of the commissioners how they could build all those schoolhouses and build all those streets, and all that without a bond issue and with a reduction in the tax rate. The commissioner's reply, " We are getting a dollar's worth of government for each dollar's worth of taxes collected," arrested attention. This kind of news was being carried elsewhere and was taking effect. The spread of the commission form of government then began in earnest, and became so rapid, and is now so rapid, that we do not hope to keep the literature for our charter campaign up to date ; it is changing so fast that I think our latest literature is already somewhat behind the times. This movement progresses in spite of the combined opposition, generally, of the political machines of both parties and of all the other special interests that profit by a bad city government. There are those in a community who like to have the city administration run with a little favoritism here and there, and sometimes with a great deal of favoritism. They naturally make a point of standing in with the political machines of both parties.

Fine as the results had already been, and high as was the perfection in form after the Des Moines contribution, it seemed clear that it would do no harm for us in Cambridge to bide our time for a while. Better things still were likely to develop.

Two years ago, the little city of Grand Junction in Colorado had scarcely been heard of ; but, like many another small place, it was destined to have a marked effect on the thought and practice of men. Two years ago, Grand Junction adopted a new charter of the commission sort, including all the good features of the Des

Moines plan, but introduced a new system of electing officers—an attractive system of preferential voting. This seemed to certain citizens of Cambridge to be the capsheaf, so to speak, of the developing form of city charter. It then looked to them as if energy, experience, and political genius had developed what we might safely assume to be the standard modern form of American city charter. It looked then as if we might assume that the type of construction best adapted for the purpose, so far as our experience would permit it, had been worked out; and the question at once arose, Would it not be a pretty good thing to give the citizens of Cambridge an opportunity to adopt an up-to-date charter of this kind? It was in the fall of 1909 that that form of election was developed and tested. The previous lack of so important an improvement was no doubt the reason why the Cambridge commission charter movement had not developed before. The appearance of preferential voting is, at all events, the main cause for this charter's coming up at this time, and since it is the greatest novelty of the charter, perhaps it will be appropriate for me to devote special attention to it.

There seems to be universal agreement that the proper method of nomination is by non-partisan petition of a moderate number of voters—the number of signatures put as low as possible consistent with decorum. The idea is to give unorganized bodies of voters the least possible difficulty in putting a favorite in nomination. This allows the nominations to be perfectly free and open to any candidate for whom there could be any hope of election. In Los Angeles one hundred signatures secure a nomination; in Spokane, twenty-five; in Des Moines, twenty-five; in Lynn and Haverhill, twenty-five; in fact, twenty-five is the usual figure. This results at once in the nomination of a large number of candidates; then the dilemma to settle is, which candidates should win? Obviously it would not do to let all of these candidates go on the ballot, and leave it in the usual way for a plurality, which might, after all, be only a small fraction of the voters, to decide the issue. Such a decision might or might not be acceptable or endurable to the majority. When a candidate is elected by a minority, nobody knows whether he is on the whole the preference of the majority or not. Mayor Barry, for example, at the last election had less than half the votes cast for mayor. His vote, though a plurality, was a minority,

his two opponents having together more votes than he. The same is true of Mayor Fitzgerald of Boston. He had 47,172 votes; his three opponents together, 48,184. A more striking illustration of the absurdity of the old system occurred in a recent election in Salem, when Mayor Howard was elected by 1800 votes out of a total of 7200. There were five candidates, the vote was close, and 1800 sufficed for a plurality and an election. Nobody knew whether Mayor Howard was the man the citizens of Salem wanted or not. To win by this system one need only to be the favorite of the largest single group or organization. Nothing could be more dangerous. We have hitherto striven against this danger, and by one arbitrary means or another kept the number of nominees low — a practice directly in violation of the cardinal democratic principle of readily secured nominations and a wide choice for the electorate. The excessive number of 5000 signatures required in Boston arose no doubt partly from the fancied necessity of keeping its number of nominees down. Setting the required number of signatures low forced a radical change in practice. The expected, desired, and resulting large number of nominees made it absolutely necessary.

So what they did in Des Moines was to resort to the system of double elections, long familiar in western Europe, — to have two elections instead of one, — a primary and a final election, each requiring an election day. At the primary election the names of all the candidates appear on the ballot, arranged alphabetically or by lot, and each voter puts a cross after the name of his first choice for an office. The two highest candidates then appear on the final ballot some days or weeks later, all the rest having been dropped, and the voters are forced to choose between these two. This is the plurality system, thinly disguised, with a great premium on organization and machine work.

In Grand Junction they said: "What is the use of two elections? Cannot we manage this with one election and do it a great deal more neatly and safely, besides? We will arrange it so that the voter can mark not only his first and second choice for any one office, but as many "other choices" as he likes. This will enable the voter to support every one of perhaps a large number of good candidates, as against the machine or undesirable candidates. It will also destroy largely or entirely the great advantage long en-

BALLOT ILLUSTRATING PREFERENTIAL VOTING

As Embodied in the Proposed New Charter for Cambridge, Mass.

INSTRUCTIONS.—To vote for a candidate make a cross (X) in the appropriate space.

Vote your **FIRST** choice in the **FIRST** column.

Vote your **SECOND** choice in the **SECOND** column.

Vote **ONLY ONE FIRST** choice and **ONLY ONE SECOND** choice for any one office. *†

Vote in the **THIRD** column for **ALL THE OTHER CANDIDATES** whom you wish to support.

DO NOT VOTE MORE THAN ONE CHOICE FOR ONE PERSON, as only one choice will count for any candidate.

If you wrongly mark, tear or deface this ballot, return it and obtain another.

ONE MAN TO BE ELECTED FOR EACH OFFICE

Supervisor of Administration (Mayor)	First Choice	Second Choice	Other Choices
Charles E. Hughes			
Champ Clark			
John A. O'Gorman			
Nelson W. Aldrich			
Richard Croker			
Robert L. Owen			
William H. Taft			
Joseph W. Folk			
Robert M. LaFollette			
Woodrow Wilson			
William J. Bryan			
Chauncey M. Depew			
Theodore Roosevelt			
Supervisor of Finance			
Bourke Cockran			
Leslie B. Shaw			
John A. Sullivan			
Nathan Matthews			

Supervisor of Public Works	First Choice	Second Choice	Other Choices
Guy C. Emerson			
John Mitchell			
Stephen O'Meara			
Supervisor of Health			
H. W. Wiley			
Supervisor of Public Property			
Gifford Pinchot			
Richard A. Ballinger			

joyed by the machine, and, moreover, eliminate the objection to a large number of candidates."

The sample ballot (page 59) which has been distributed shows how the ballot would actually look.

Now, this method of election not only does away with primaries, but it does a number of things besides. It means that a man may accept nomination for office without there being incumbent upon him the necessity for spending money, without even making a speech if he does not want to. Now we well know that some of the most desirable candidates, particularly for city office, are not speech-makers and cannot or do not wish to spend money, and above all things do not wish to put themselves in the position of having their motives misunderstood or misrepresented, or go out asking for votes. Under this ballot a large number of nominees appear, and it is of no consequence, presumably, that any particular one should win. It is important only that some one of the right type should win. Under the old system the candidate's failure is his party's failure, something supposed by his supporters to bring great disappointment and harm. The new system eliminates that excess of strain and responsibility upon the candidate. No one man is singled out as a target for abuse or mud-slinging, unless, at least, the case against him is pretty strong. In fact, the incentive is the other way. Unnecessary offense to voters whose second or other choice votes, if not first, are being angled for, is obviously to be avoided. In short, it goes a long way toward solving the problem of making standing for office attractive to the right kind of citizens, whom we have found it hitherto hard to attract.

Another thing that this ballot does will be a relief to the much berated element which has ideals, conscientious scruples, and differences of opinion which lead to splits and which handicap them so severely in any effort against unscrupulous solidarity. It enables any body of voters automatically, quietly, and painlessly to get together behind some candidate more or less perfectly representing the general views of that group. It practically eliminates the danger, usually fatal, of a split ticket, avoided readily enough by steam-roller methods of a machine, but not so easily avoided by people with scruples, self-respect, and pride.

Now those who feel hopeful of getting decent city government in this country base their hope on the faith that those who want the city

run right are in the majority, divided usually, however, into hostile camps by party lines based on nothing more important than which of two factions shall hold the city jobs and hand out the city favors. Now, if we can eliminate the false party issue and get the majority of the city together, as has been found possible in other cities, we shall have accomplished a great thing. With this ballot the number of candidates may be large and include plenty of the best of all parties or no party, and in this way somebody satisfactory to the majority is sure to win if there is anybody in the list who is sufficiently well and favorably known to secure the support of the majority; and if there is not, we get the next best thing, and the best possible with that list of nominees; that is, the candidate who among all the others commands the largest following after a free and full expression of choice by the voters. The voter, no longer limited to one choice, no longer has to treat all other acceptable candidates just as he does the most objectionable men in the list. Thus, numerous candidates will no longer split up the votes of a majority and contribute to the election of a plurality man who is earnestly opposed by the majority. With the proposed ballot each voter may vote for as many of the nominees as he likes and a plurality election cannot be obtained in defiance of the wishes of the majority, unless all the candidates are objectionable.

The ballot that has been handed around has on it the names of thirteen candidates for mayor. I will improvise a ballot here to show how the marking is done.

For Mayor	First Choice	Second Choice	Other Choices
Smith			X
Doe	X		
Mason			
Sikes			
Roe			X
Asquith			
Jones		X	
Robinson			X

I suppose there is a list of eight candidates as shown. The arrangement of names is, as prescribed by the proposed charter, by lot, and not alphabetically.

The voter's task is this: He notes the name of candidate Doe, whom he prefers on the whole to any of the others. So he votes a first choice for him by putting a cross in the first column after his name. Then, being one of the right kind of citizen, conscientious and devoted to the good of the city, he looks further and notes that there are other good men nominated: that if Doe should not win there would be no calamity. Jones is a good, satisfactory sort of man. He would put him next. So he votes a second choice for Jones by putting a cross in the second column after his name. Then there are Robinson, Smith, and Roe. They are also competent and acceptable men. He does not want to vote against them, and so he votes an "other choice" for each of them by marking for them in the third column. Note that he is not facing the usually impossible task of grading them in the order of his preference. This ballot makes it as easy as possible to vote for all his kind of candidates. There may be only one or two thoroughly objectionable candidates, and they should be thoroughly voted against by all the majority voters supporting *all* the majority type of candidate. The way it is likely to be is this: The boss knows very well that strength in the campaign does not lie in a multiplicity of nominees for the same office, and he therefore will very likely be successful in keeping candidates among his faithful down to one or two. A rival boss or two may put in candidates. The clientèle of such candidates are likely to bullet—to vote for their own men and no others—and split the selfish vote. The grafter is likely to want one candidate and no other, for personal reasons, and so will vote no second or other choices for fear of beating his first choice. The other element are met by no such dilemma. They should mark freely for all good candidates, and their victory is doubly assured—by being probably in a majority anyway, and by facing a factionally and selfishly divided enemy. Here is the opportunity for self-respecting, conscientious persons to get together in such a way as to save the votes of each and every one of them. When the votes are counted, they may find to their surprise, as in Grand Junction, that for the first time

in the memory of men they have won, and deservedly. If you will look at the little slip which has been passed around, you will see how it worked out. The slip runs as follows:

PRACTICAL WORKING OF PREFERENTIAL VOTING

GRAND JUNCTION, COLORADO, NOVEMBER 2, 1909

Total number of ballots cast	. . . . .	1,847
Necessary for a majority	. . . . .	924

RESULT OF THE VOTES FOR MAYOR

	1st Choice	2d Choice	Other Choices	Combined 1st's and 2d's	Combined 1st's, 2d's, Others
D. W. Anpperle . . .	465	143	145	608	753
* W. H. Bannister . . .	603	98	43	696	739
N. A. Lough . . .	99	231	328	330	658
* E. B. Lutes . . .	41	114	88	155	243
E. M. Slocomb . . .	229	357	326	586	912
Thomas M. Todd (Elected)	362	293	396	655	1,051
	<u>1,799</u>	<u>1,231</u>	<u>1,326</u>		

The two starred candidates for mayor, Bannister and Lutes, represented factions of the reactionary interests against whom the new charter was aimed, the former being the strong candidate of that sort. The progressive opposition was divided and put up four candidates for the place. The situation was much the same as in the first election under the new Boston charter — with the striking difference that out there, Bannister, the Fitzgerald of that situation, did *not* get elected, as the result of the divided opposition, or otherwise. There were 1847 votes cast, and in order to win this election a person must have a majority (924) in first choices; or, failing that, must have the highest number of firsts and seconds combined, provided it is a majority; and failing that, the one getting the highest total of all choices would win. The thoroughly objectionable candidate led in first choices, as was to be expected under the circumstances, and under our Massachusetts way of doing things, he would have been regarded the winner. But, as the figures show, he had only a few over a third of the voters behind him. The vote was nearly two to one against him.

Still I find it very difficult to make Cambridge politicians see why Bannister should not win. They not unnaturally profess to feel outraged that so strong a candidate was not seated. You will see that his opposition of about 1150 voters were simply divided into three or four camps, but, thanks to the form of election, they suffered no penalty and secured a mayor acceptable to them, with two other candidates leading their arch enemy Bannister.

To be more precise at this important point, and at the risk of repeating to a slight extent for the sake of perfect clearness, I wish to add the following few comments on that election.

The starred men were the anti-charter and minority candidates ; the others the pro-charter and majority candidates.

Omitting reference to the Grand Junction practice of "dropping the low man," — an unessential complication, not likely to be widely adopted, and without influence on this result, — the decision was drawn from the foregoing figures as follows:

There being no majority in First Choices, the Firsts and Seconds were added together. Then the leading candidate, Bannister, provided he had had a majority, would have won.

There being no majority by combined Firsts and Seconds, the First, Second and Other Choices were added together, and Todd, the candidate then leading, won.

Under the usual system the minority would have beaten the majority and elected Bannister.

Under the Berkeley, Des Moines, Haverhill, or Lynn plan, that of second elections, there would have resulted a bitter contest between Aupperle and Bannister, and a forced choice between two candidates, neither of whom had a majority of the people behind him. Moreover the practical certainty of having to go through such a campaign in order to be elected may well deter most men of the desirable sort from accepting a nomination. Such an ordeal is no legitimate test of fitness for office. It has few terrors for the cheap self-seeker, but does deter the candidates we need. It is one of the great evils of our old style politics from which the system of second elections does not free us, but which the preferential system in great measure, at least, destroys.

One of the features of all our charter meetings is to hold a mock election which shows exactly how this new system of election

works. When this method of voting was first proposed, we used to hear occasional remarks about its being complicated. At the suggestion of a lady much interested in the charter, it was proposed that we make a practice from the start of giving the voters an opportunity actually to vote such a ballot. This had the expected effect. No talk of the ballot being complicated ever comes from a voter who has had a chance to try it. The only opposition left is that readily ascribable to a firm belief that it would actually work as intended. In other words, the opposition is now confined to the machine politicians, and those in their train. Even they make little effort to make it appear that it is complicated.

You will now be given an opportunity to hold such a mock election, using the ballots which have been distributed. One vote in the first column for first choice; one vote in the second column for second choice. You are not compelled to vote against your second and other choices, as under the present system. With only one vote you have to treat all but your first choice—good, bad, and indifferent—alike; and under the new system of nominations there may be a dozen in the running for whom you would be prouder to vote than any that come up under the present system. This ballot enables a voter to vote for all candidates of an acceptable type and against all candidates of other types, and thus, with the direct nomination power, for the first time to express himself satisfactorily at the polls. All this ought to help to arouse interest in politics among those who have lost it, or who, for better reason than they were aware of, never could get interested.

Will you please mark your ballots?

If the ballots are ready and if you will be good enough to pass them to the aisles they will be collected and counted. It will not take very long to produce the results.¹

We observe that the prime reason that the public will has not prevailed in our cities is because selfish interests have succeeded in getting in between the people and their business. Those minor interests generally operate through the political party machine. Now the machine is a necessity under our cumbersome system.

¹ The result of this mock election was soon reached by tellers and announced to the audience. The result was of no permanent value and so is not recorded, but the experiment appeared to give complete satisfaction to the meeting.

The traditional ramshackle form of government could not be run without it. But its largely irresponsible character, its great power, and its need for money make it a tempting mark and in many cases an easy prey for those who find cash returns in making the city government serve their private ends to the injury of the mass of citizens.

To correct this kind of evil the system of nomination above described goes a long way. The elimination of the party label helps also. Together they go far to destroy monopoly of nominations. The preferential ballot strikes at the likelihood of electing such candidates as the machines put on the ballot, and brings into the field against them citizens of a type whom it was perfectly unreasonable to ask to run under the old system.

To back up all this the short ballot principle is introduced. This greatly aids the voter, and still further works against the machine system. The idea on which the short ballot is based is to fill by popular election so few offices and only such important and conspicuous ones as will get and hold the critical interest of the voter. The five supervisors proposed in this charter, in place of the thirty-four now chosen by popular vote to do the same work, fall in with this principle — and this point is much intensified by the fact that they go out of office only one or two per year, leaving only one or two to be elected in any one year, and, including the school committee, only three to four city offices to be filled by the voters in any one year. The ballots as passed around, calling for the filling of all five supervisors at one election, would appear only at the first election under the charter.

Under the proposed charter, five supervisors replace the mayor, board of aldermen, and common council — thirty-four men in all — and have all the executive and legislative powers of the city, save such as are reserved to the school committee and the people themselves, as I will explain later. Any fifty citizens can put on the ballot the name of the candidate acceptable to them, and he accepts the nomination on just as good terms as any body of politicians can confer. There is no party label to float the nominees into power in the face of incompetence, previous obscurity, or bad record.

All this puts the government right into the hands of the people,

with fair hope of success. With men in positions of great publicity, the opportunity to get credit for good work is a powerful incentive. The spirit of this modern democratic movement is that human nature is pretty sure to be sound, but that it should be given at least half a chance. If we put these carefully selected men in a position of power, where the good they do will be appreciated and credited to the right ones, we shall get good results. There is an opportunity for good to be done, some of it long neglected, in any city. Cambridge is no exception.

Then, under the proposed charter, the people themselves are given power, if anything seriously objectionable happens or is threatened, to step in and exert direct control of their business, through the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall. These are the best means that have been devised for such emergency work, and they have already done great service in this country and elsewhere. They furnish the means for final and effective control that the public requires for its safety.

Then we provide a reasonably long term for these supervisors, three years, in which a man can learn his business and work out and execute a policy. We propose to pay a salary large enough so that men of the type generally believed to be capable of doing this work could at least live on it. Then, by this system of elections, by which a man can take a nomination with a minimum of risk to peace of mind, pocket, or reputation, we could hope to get the right kind of man into office. We have given them great power to do desirable things, and the least possible power to do undesirable things. We have arranged it so that credit would go to whom credit is due. We have arranged it so that the government and the citizens shall be in the closest possible relations, so that citizens with right purposes can be of the greatest possible effectiveness with the least possible sacrifice. This will train the citizens to increasing efficiency, and make good results permanent, and in large degree self-sustaining.

In this charter we have brought together all the best features of work of the last decade of American city charter making, carefully adapted to Cambridge and Massachusetts conditions.

We have in this charter these characteristics which have been productive of nothing but success so far in this country, and it is

believed that they are sound principles, namely, simplicity, concentration of authority and responsibility, and responsiveness to the public will.

At this point it seems appropriate to record the names of the four others included with the speaker in the group of five who took it upon themselves to prepare the original draft of the charter and introduce it into the legislature in the session of 1910. They were Lawrence G. Brooks, Arthur N. Holcombe, John R. Nichols, and Russell A. Wood. F. Lowell Kennedy also gave the work cordial and important encouragement from the start, and appeared as one of the petitioners for the bills in the legislature. Messrs. Holcombe and Nichols, not at that time registered voters in Cambridge though since having become such, did not appear in the list of these four petitioners. Of course, many others, too numerous to mention here, and generally included in published lists of committees of the Charter Association, helped with encouragement and suggestions of the greatest value, but out of this long list no one who knows the high quality and great extent of his unheralded assistance as counselor and executive will grudge a special record here of the name of Reginald Mott Hull.

Now, as an illustration of how charters of this kind actually operate, the experience in Spokane may interest you. There is a city the size of Cambridge, with five offices to fill, each office with a four-year term, each with a five-thousand-dollar salary, requiring for nomination only twenty-five signatures. The result was ninety-two candidates for five offices, offering an adequate range of choice to the voters. The number of votes cast was 22,058; 7000 women had registered in the few months that had elapsed since their enfranchisement by the state. This was their first election of any kind, and the first experience of the men with this kind of ballot. There was no difficulty and no confusion. Of those ninety-two candidates, the five men who won had none of them held an elective city office. The politicians were down and out. The citizens for the first time in their history had a chance at something different and seized upon it. The highest man, Robert Fairley, got a majority of first-choice votes. He was the only one who did. Moreover, he had the support in first, second, or other choices of three quarters of the voters in the city. He had become widely

and favorably known as an appointive city officer. He had long served as city comptroller.

The four men next in favor were as follows:

No. 2 in popular choice, W. J. Hindley, was a leading Congregational clergyman. He had never been in public life before except as a leader in the single tax movement, and an active, virile defender of civic righteousness generally. A fine orator, and widely respected.

The next man, C. M. Fassett, was the President of the Spokane Chamber of Commerce, one of the most successful and most respected business men of the Northwest, like Mr. Hindley, a single-taxer. He was elected during his absence from the city, indicating a kind of politics we have not yet enjoyed in this part of the country. He took no part in the campaign beyond signing his acceptance of the nomination, and writing two or three letters home which were published in the local papers.

The next, D. C. Coates, had been a leader in the charter campaign, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Colorado, member of a typographical union, a socialist who had won the respect and confidence of former opponents and of the public generally.

The fifth, L. A. Hayden, was a prominent lumberman, a very successful man of high ideals.

None of these four, by the way, was then sufficiently widely known to secure the votes of a majority, even upon the addition of first, second, and other choices.

The correspondent who furnished me the foregoing information was careful to point out that they were not only men of responsibility and standing, but they were men of high civic spirit, interested in the public good. Those five men were chosen, and the people were delighted not only with the result, but with the high tone of the campaign.

You do not strike a politician until you get to No. 13. Not only the first five, but the first twelve names in the list were names of people who had never been in elective office; they were men, successful in business and ordinary vocations, of a type quite different from the ordinary politician. The ex-mayor, the man who was mayor when the charter was adopted, was a man against whom little or nothing could be said, but he was a member of the old

regime and came in no better than thirteenth. No. 17 was the next of a similar type, and so on down. The fact remains that Spokane has had an entire change in the rules, and they are very pleased with it.

We may take a little satisfaction here in Cambridge from the fact that they adopted this preferential ballot in Spokane very largely because they knew it had obtained such favor here in Cambridge; it is very gratifying to me to feel that we here in Cambridge have helped teach the Pacific Slope progressivism. They simply worked out the charter and voted on it and got it into operation in a total campaign of six months. But there they require no action by the legislature for such a step. They have home rule for cities.

Here in Cambridge we mean that these five supervisors shall be elected to specific office. Each candidate knows what office he is to fill, and the voter knows to what office he is electing him. This is no attempt to elect experts, but to secure men interested in their departments, with a taste for their work, and in a position of responsibility to the voters for its execution. This is worth a moment's notice, for it is a somewhat new idea, but likely to gain in favor. Grand Junction, Lynn, and Oklahoma City already enjoy this system, and Haverhill's experience with the more usual system led Lynn to take the step. The usual practice has been to nominate the men and elect five of them merely to the council at random to parcel out the work among themselves as best they may—a practice tending to irresponsibility and inefficiency unless exceptional men are put in power.

Now, having devoted so much time to the history and contents of the proposed new charter for Cambridge, it becomes an easy and short task, in closing, to point out its meaning.

It opens the brightest opportunity we have ever had in this city for an actual realization of the principles laid down a century and a third ago in this city, on the soil of this University, by a graduate of this University, John Adams, and ratified by the people of this Commonwealth as the foundation of their organic law, namely:

“All power residing originally in the people, and being derived from them, the several magistrates and officers of government, vested with authority, whether legislative, executive, or judicial, are their substitutes and agents, and are at all times accountable to them. . . .

"In order to prevent those who are vested with authority from becoming oppressors, the people have a right, at such periods and in such manner as they shall establish by their frame of government, to cause their public officers to return to private life; and to fill up vacant places by certain and regular elections and appointments. . . .

"Government is instituted for the common good; for the protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness of the people; and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men."

These are principles as impregnable to-day as when they were written. In fact, I think it may be said that their violation, particularly the violation of the last sentence quoted, is the cause in a nutshell of our political and economic troubles. I think we need no new doctrine, only effective ways to get the old doctrine into effect. To get the full result desired we must, in these later days, add two things, — more effective means for the use of the people in asserting their supremacy, and more favorable conditions for the development of the right leadership. The people must have more power to do with, and more knowledge what to do against those who would pervert government to the profit of some one man or set of men. This charter, I consider, includes as complete a list as is to-day practicable of what the people must have to secure the requisite power. The existence of this power, within the reach of all the citizens, will foster and develop the leadership, if anything will, — our great educational system, and the memory and example of the unselfish leaders of the past greatly assisting.

The nine striking features of the charter which, I believe, will operate so powerfully to bring into effect the purposes of our Massachusetts Bill of Rights are :

1. Direct and Easy Nominations, without regard to ward lines : to check party domination and give voters wide choice.
2. Short Ballot : to permit easy and intelligent voting.
3. Preferential Voting : to eliminate primaries, to encourage competent men to stand for office, and to permit a real choice from a large number of candidates, with minimum cost and effort.
4. Long Term and Adequate Salary : to render public office acceptable to competent men.
5. Small, compact Council with large powers, combining the executive and legislative functions : to secure efficiency.

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|
| 6. Publicity | } | to permit effective control of city affairs by
the voters. . |
| 7. The Initiative | | |
| 8. The Referendum | | |
| 9. The Recall | | |

This list, if supplemented by two other items, would include about the whole that has been accomplished since the adoption of the constitution of this Commonwealth in the way of improved governmental machinery and practices, and little in this list dates in this country at least from before the last decade.

The two items which I have not mentioned and which it is a particular pleasure to mention here in this presence — in the presence of your President, Mr. Dana, who has so efficiently led in their adoption — are the merit system and the Australian ballot, and without the latter, at least, this charter could not have come to pass.

More still must be done to complete this kind of work in State and nation, and various corrupting economic fallacies and abuses must be eliminated from our thought and life before we can secure permanent security and peace, but, whatever form such work may take, I believe it is bound to be part and parcel with this charter in attempting to establish a government "for the common good; for the protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness of the people; and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men."

At the conclusion of Professor Johnson's paper the meeting adjourned.

GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY

October 26, 1910 — October 24, 1911

<i>Donor</i>	<i>Description</i>
CAMBRIDGE, CITY OF	Address of the Mayor of Cambridge, with the Annual Reports, 1908-1910. 2 v.
CAMBRIDGE, PUBLIC LIBRARY .	{ Harvard Graduates' Magazine, missing nos. (see below, under Howe, A. M.) Oliver Wendell Holmes, 1809-1909: works of Holmes. From the Cambridge Public Library Bulletin
CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	Annual Report, Oct. 31, 1910
COX, GEORGE HOWLAND . . .	[Framed] Page of Vicksburg Newspaper, printed on back of wall paper, July 2, 1863
DANA, RICHARD HENRY, 3D . .	Speeches in Stirring Times, and Letters to a Son, by R. H. Dana Jr., 1910
GOZZALDI, MRS. MARY ISABELLA	Souvenir Postals (2) of the Cooper-Austin and the Stone Houses
HOLMES, JOHN ALBERT	Typewritten Manuscripts (2), on the Estate of Ebenezer Frost on Menotomy Road, and Elder Edmund Frost — his Homestall
HOWE, ARCHIBALD MURRAY . .	Blue Book of Cambridge, 1908 Harvard Graduates' Magazine, Vols. I-XIX, Oct., 1892-June, 1911, partial set (complete from above) Historical Sketches of some Members of the Lawrence Family. 1888 John Wilson, by Frank E. Bradish

*Donor.**Description.*

	Quinquennial Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates of Harvard University, 1636-1895
	Who's Who in America, 1908-1909
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY	Collections, Vols. VI-VII 2 v.
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Journal, Vol. II, No. 4, Jan., 1910
LANCASTER COUNTY (PA.) HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Papers read, Vol. XIV, No. 4, Vol. XV, Nos. 1-7, Oct., 1910-Sept., 1911
LANE, WILLIAM C.	An Old-Time Society [The Cambridge Humane Society], by Arthur Gilman
	Two Civilizations: an Oration, by J. A. Fox
LEOMINSTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Exercises at the Unveiling of the Boulder marking the Site of the First House erected in Leominster, 1725
LOWELL HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	Contributions, Vol. I, No. I, July, 1911
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Proceedings, Vol. XLIII, Oct., 1909-June, 1910
MATTHEWS, ALBERT	Letters of Dennys De Berdt, 1757-1770. Reprint from the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts
	A Sacrament Certificate, 1678. Reprint from the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts
	Sir Matthew and Lady Holworthy. Reprint from the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts
MEDFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	Historical Register, Vol. XIV, Nos. 1-2, January and April, 1911
NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY	New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 1910-1911

<i>Donor.</i>	<i>Description.</i>
NORTON, RUPERT	Cambridge Epitaphs
OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY . .	Quarterly, Vol. XIX, Nos. 3-4, Vol. XX, Nos. 1-3, July, 1910-July, 1911
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY	Historia, Vol. I, Nos. 3-4, March 15 and Dec. 20, 1910
OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	Quarterly, Vol. XI, No. 4, Vol. XII, No. 1, Dec., 1910-March, 1911
PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY	Year Book, 1911
SAUNDERS, MISS MARY	Seven Pictures
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO	Review of Historical Publications Re- lating to Canada, Vols. XIV and XV, 1909-1910
UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT AND STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE	Catalogue, 1910-1911
VINELAND HISTORICAL AND AN- TIQUARIAN SOCIETY	New Jersey Annual Report, Oct. 11, 1910
VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY .	Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. XIX, Nos. 1-4, 1911
WILLARD, MISS SUSANNA	Address to the Members of the Bar of Worcester County, Massachu- setts, Oct. 2, 1829, by Joseph Willard John Bartlett. From the Proceed- ings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. XLI Naturalization in the American Col- onies, by Joseph Willard. 1859 Prayer, by the Rev. Dr. Lathrop, and Eulogy, by Professor Webber, at the Funeral of the Rev. Joseph Willard, with a Sermon by the Rev. Mr. Holmes Story of a Concord Farm and its Owners [Thirty-seven Manuscript Sermons] by Rev. Joseph Willard

NECROLOGY

The original obituary sketches, of which most of the following are abstracts, are kept on file in the Society's collection.

REGULAR MEMBERS

BOUTON, MRS. ELIZA JANE, died at Cambridge, May 20, 1911. She was born at Lowell, Mass., August 19, 1836, the oldest child of the Hon. John Nesmith, of Lowell, Mass., and Eliza Thom (Bell) Nesmith. Her mother was the daughter of John Bell, who was Governor of New Hampshire. Her early years were spent in Lowell, where her father was a man of wealth and prominence. She was educated at Bradford Academy. She married, December 4, 1873, John Bell Bouton, then of New York, who was also a grandson of Governor John Bell. Mr. Bouton was a graduate of Dartmouth College, and was one of the editors and owners of the "New York Journal of Commerce." For many years Mr. and Mrs. Bouton lived in New York, and at East Orange, N. J. In 1889 Mr. Bouton retired from business, and they came to Cambridge to live, and thereafter made it their home, though spending much of their time in foreign travel. Mr. Bouton died November 18, 1902. Both Mr. and Mrs. Bouton were intensely patriotic. Mr. Bouton was the author of a number of books, but the one in which they both took an especial interest was entitled "Uncle Sam's Bible." Mrs. Bouton possessed much literary ability and was much interested in art and literature as well as in public affairs. She was fond of travel. She was a charter member of the Society of Colonial Dames of New Hampshire, and a charter member of the Hannah Winthrop Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Massachusetts. She wrote patriotic odes for each of these societies and was much interested in their work. She was a Unitarian in religion, and was active in the work of the Unitarian Church at East Orange.

DURANT, HON. WILLIAM BULLARD, died in Cambridge, October 4, 1911. He was born in Barre, Mass., September 29, 1844, the son of Rev. Amos Bullard and Mary Ann Durant. He graduated at Harvard in 1865, received the degree of A.M. in 1868, and in 1869 received the

degree of LL.B., from the Harvard Law School. He was actively engaged in the practice of the law until his death, having his office in Boston. In 1879 he married Caroline B. Aldrich, daughter of Judge P. B. Aldrich, of Worcester. She and three sons, Aldrich, Henry W., and William B., survive him. Soon after finishing his education he changed his name to William Bullard Durant. In 1880 and 1881 he was a member of the Cambridge Common Council. From 1890 to 1892 he was a member of the House of Representatives and was a State Senator in 1894 and 1896. From 1899 to 1906 he served as President of the Cambridge Water Board. At the time of his death he was a Director of the Charles River National Bank and a Trustee of the Cambridge Savings Bank. He was a regular attendant at the Shepard Congregational Church.

HALL, the REV. EDWARD HENRY, died in Cambridge, February 22, 1912. He was the eldest son of the Rev. Edward Brooks Hall and Harriet (Ware) Hall, and was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, April 16, 1831. He fitted for college at the High School in Providence, R. I., where his father was settled for more than thirty years as the pastor of the Unitarian Church. He graduated from Harvard with the Class of 1851. He attended the Harvard Divinity School, where he graduated in 1855. In 1902 Harvard conferred on him the degree of S.T.D. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and served as a member of its Council for two years following the annual meeting of 1907. He was also a member of the American Antiquarian Society and a member and councillor of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Dr. Hall held three pastorates over Unitarian churches—the first at Plymouth, the next at Worcester, and the last in Cambridge. He was installed as minister of the First Parish and First Church in Cambridge (Unitarian), March 30, 1882. He resigned his pastorate March 31, 1893.

HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH, died in Cambridge, May 9, 1911. He was born in Cambridge, December 22, 1823. He graduated from Harvard in 1841, and from the Harvard Divinity School in 1847. He married, September 30, 1847, Mary Elizabeth Channing, daughter of Dr. Walter Channing. She died September 2, 1877, at Newport, R. I. In 1847 he became the pastor of the First Religious Society at Newburyport, then ostensibly Unitarian, and remained as such for over two years. While at Newburyport he became an anti-slavery candidate for Congress. From 1852 to 1858 he was in charge of the Worcester Free

Church. In 1854 he was indicted, with Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, and others, in connection with the attempted rescue of Anthony Burns, a fugitive slave. November 10, 1862, he became Colonel of the First South Carolina Volunteers, afterwards the Thirty-third United States colored troops. He was wounded and disabled, July 10, 1863, and resigned in October, 1864. In February, 1879, he married Mary P. Thacher and settled in Cambridge. He was President of the Colonial Club, and his portrait hangs in its club house. He served in the Legislature of Massachusetts in 1880 and again in 1881. For three years he was a member of the State Board of Education. For seven years he served as state military and naval historian. He was honored by the Western Reserve and by Harvard University with the degree of LL.D. He was President of the Harvard Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. He was Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Corresponding Member of the Royal Society of Canada, Member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters, and Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. His wife and daughter, Mrs. Margaret W. Barney, survive him. For a fuller account of Mr. Higginson, see the report of the meeting held in Sanders Theatre, which will appear in Vol. VII of the Proceedings of this Society.

NICHOLS, DR. JOHN TAYLOR GILMAN, died at Little Boar's Head, N. H., August 25, 1911. He was born in Portland, Me., August 11, 1837, the eldest son of Dr. George Henry Nichols and Sarah (Atherton) Nichols. His early years were spent at Standish, Me. He graduated from the Harvard Medical School in 1859, being one of those selected to read his thesis at the graduating exercises. Dr. Nichols settled in Cambridge in 1859 and continued a resident until his death. He married, October 2, 1867, Helen Williams Gilman, daughter of Dr. John Taylor Gilman of Portland, Me., and Helen Augusta, his wife, daughter of Hon. Renel Williams of Augusta, Me. He was a member of the Standing Committee of the First Parish in Cambridge, and was Chairman of the Committee from 1887 to 1902. He was a visiting physician at the Cambridge Hospital from 1884 until 1903. He was President of the Cambridge Savings Bank from 1904 to 1911. His wife and two of his children survive him. For a fuller account of Dr. Nichols, see the paper read by Mr. Oscar F. Allen, which will appear in Vol. VII of the Proceedings of this Society.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

1911-1912

<i>President</i>	. . . . .	RICHARD HENRY DANA
<i>Vice-Presidents</i>	. . . . .	{ ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS
		{ EDWARD HENRY HALL
		{ ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE
<i>Secretary</i>	. . . . .	ARTHUR DRINKWATER
<i>Treasurer</i>	. . . . .	HENRY HERBERT EDES
<i>Curator</i>	. . . . .	CLARENCE WALTER AYER

The Council

CLARENCE WALTER AYER	HENRY HERBERT EDES
HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY	MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI
FRANK GAYLORD COOK	EDWARD HENRY HALL
RICHARD HENRY DANA	ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS	WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE
ARTHUR DRINKWATER	ALICE MARY LONGFELLOW
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER	

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COMMITTEES APPOINTED BY THE COUNCIL

1911-1912

On the Early Roads and Topography of Cambridge.

STEPHEN PASCHALL SHARPLES, EDWARD JOHN BRANDON,
EDWARD RUSSELL COGSWELL.

On the Collection of Autograph Letters of Distinguished Citizens of Cambridge.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,
HENRY HERBERT EDES.

On Sketches of Noted Citizens of Cambridge.

MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI, EDWARD RUSSELL COGSWELL,
SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER.

On the Collection and Preservation of Printed and Manuscript Material.

WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, CLARENCE WALTER AYER,
EDWIN BLAISDELL HALE.

On Publication.

CLARENCE WALTER AYER, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,
HENRY HERBERT EDES.

On Memoirs of Deceased Members.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY.

On the Collection of Oral Tradition and Early Letters and other Documents of Citizens of Cambridge.

MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI,
MARGARET JONES BRADBURY, GRACE OWEN SCUDDER,
ELIZABETH ELLERY DANA, GEORGE GRIER WRIGHT,
MARY HELEN DEANE, SUSANNA WILLARD.

On Auditing the Accounts of the Treasurer.

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

On the Longfellow Centenary Medal Prize.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER,
EDWARD BANGS DREW, CLARENCE WALTER AYER.

REGULAR MEMBERS

ABBOT, MARION STANLEY	BULFINCH, ELLEN SUSAN
ALLEN, FLORA VIOLA	BUMSTEAD, JOSEPHINE FREEMAN
ALLEN, FRANK AUGUSTUS	
ALLEN, MARY WARE	CARRUTH, ANNA KENT
ALLEN, OSCAR FAYETTE	CARRUTH, CHARLES THEODORE
ALLISON, CARRIE JOSEPHINE	CARY, EMMA FORBES
ALLISON, SUSAN CARLYLE	CLARK, ELIZABETH HODGES
AUBIN, HELEN WARNER	COES, MARY
AUBIN, MARGARET HARRIS	COGSWELL, EDWARD RUSSELL
AYER, CLARENCE WALTER	COOK, FRANK GAYLORD
	CORNE, WILLIAM FREDERICK
BAILEY, HOLLIS RUSSELL	COX, GEORGE HOWLAND
BAILEY, MARY PERSIS	CROTHERS, SAMUEL MCHORD
BANCROFT, WILLIAM AMOS	CUTTER, WATSON GRANT
BARNARD, CLARA EVERETT	
BATCHELDER, CHARLES FOSTER	DALLINGER, WILLIAM WILBERFORCE
BATCHELDER, LAURA POOR	DANA, EDITH LONGFELLOW
BATCHELDER, SAMUEL FRANCIS	DANA, ELIZABETH ELLERY
BEALE, JOSEPH HENRY	DANA, HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW
BELL, STOUGHTON	DANA, RICHARD HENRY
BIGELOW, FRANCIS HILL	DAVIS, ANDREW MCFARLAND
BIGELOW, MELVILLE MADISON	DAVIS, ELEANOR WHITNEY
BILL, CAROLINE ELIZA	DEANE, GEORGE CLEMENT
BLAKE, JAMES HENRY	DEANE, MARY HELEN
BLISH, ARIADNE	DEANE, WALTER
BLODGETT, WARREN KENDALL	DODGE, EDWARD SHERMAN
*BOUTON, ELIZA JANE NESMITH	DREW, EDWARD BANGS
BRADBURY, MARGARET JONES	DRINKWATER, ARTHUR
BRADBURY, WILLIAM FROTHINGHAM	DUNBAR, WILLIAM HARRISON
BRANDON, EDWARD JOHN	
BROCK, ADAH LEILA CONE	
BROOKS, ARTHUR HENDRICKS	

* Deceased.

*DURANT, WILLIAM BULLARD
DURRELL, HAROLD CLARKE

EDES, GRACE WILLIAMSON
EDES, HENRY HERBERT
ELIOT, CHARLES WILLIAM
ELIOT, GRACE HOPKINSON
ELIOT, SAMUEL ATKINS
ELLIS, HELEN PEIRCE
EMERTON, EPHRAIM
EVARTS, PRESCOTT

FARLOW, LILIAN HORSFORD
FENN, WILLIAM WALLACE
FESSENDEN, MARION BROWN
FISKE, ETHEL
FOOTE, MARY BRADFORD
FORBES, EDWARD WALDO
FORD, LILIAN FISK
FORD, WORTHINGTON CHAUN-
CEY
FOSTER, FRANCIS APTHORP
FOX, JABEZ
FOXCROFT, FRANK

GAMWELL, EDWARD FRANCIS
GOODWIN, AMELIA MACKAY
GOZZALDI, MARY ISABELLA
GRAY, ANNA LYMAN
GRAY, JOHN CHIPMAN

HALE, EDWIN BLAISDELL
HALL, EDWARD HENRY
HALL, WILLIAM STICKNEY
HARRIS, ELIZABETH
HART, ALBERT BUSHNELL

*HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENT-
WORTH

HILDRETH, JOHN LEWIS
HILL, FREDERIC STANHOPE
HODGES, GEORGE
HOPPIN, ELIZA MASON

HORSFORD, KATHARINE
HOUGHTON, ALBERTA MANNING
HOUGHTON, ELIZABETH HARRIS
HOUGHTON, ROSERHYSS GILMAN
HOWE, ARCHBIALD MURRAY
HOWE, ARRIA SARGENT DIX-
WELL
HOWE, CLARA
HUBBARD, PHINEAS

IRWIN, AGNES

JACKSON, ROBERT TRACY

KELLNER, MAXIMILIAN LINDSAY
KENDALL, GEORGE FREDERICK
KERSHAW, JUSTINE HOUGHTON
KIERNAN, THOMAS J.

LAMB, HARRIET FARLEY
LANE, WILLIAM COOLIDGE
LEAVITT, ERASMUS DARWIN
LONGFELLOW, ALICE MARY
LONGFELLOW, WILLIAM PITT
PREBLE

LOWELL, ABBOTT LAWRENCE

MARCOU, PHILIPPE BELKNAP
McDUFFIE, JOHN
McINTIRE, CHARLES JOHN
McKENZIE, ALEXANDER
MELLEGE, ROBERT JOB
MERRIMAN, DOROTHEA FOOTE
MERRIMAN, ROGER BIGELOW
MITCHELL, EMMA MARIA
MORISON, ANNE THERESA
MORISON, ROBERT SWAIN
MUNROE, EMMA FRANCES
MYERS, JAMES JEFFERSON

*NICHOLS, JOHN TAYLOR GILMAN
NORTON, GRACE

* Deceased.

NORTON, MARGARET
NOYES, JAMES ATKINS

PAINE, JAMES LEONARD
PAINE, MARY WOOLSON
PARKER, HENRY AINSWORTH
PARLIN, FRANK EDSON
PARSONS, CAROLINE LOUISA
§PEABODY, CAROLINE EUSTIS
PERRIN, FRANKLIN
PICKERING, ANNA ATWOOD
PICKERING, EDWARD CHARLES
PICKERING, WILLIAM HENRY
PIPER, WILLIAM TAGGARD
POTTER, ALFRED CLAGHORN

RAND, HARRY SEATON
READ, ELISE WELCH
READ, JOHN
READ, WILLIAM
REARDON, EDMUND
REID, WILLIAM BERNARD
ROBINSON, FRED NORRIS
ROPES, JAMES HARDY
RUSSELL, ETTA LOIS
SAUNDERS, CARRIE HUNTING-
TON

SAUNDERS, HERBERT ALDEN
SAWYER, DORA WENTWORTH
SAWYER, GEORGE AUGUSTUS
SAWYER, GEORGE CARLETON
SCUDDER, GRACE OWEN
SEAGRAVE, CHARLES BURNSIDE
SHARPLES, STEPHEN PASCHALL
SMITH, EMMA GRISCOM
STEARNS, GENEVIEVE
STONE, WILLIAM EBEN
STORER, SARAH FRANCIS

TAYLOR, FREDERIC WESTON
THAYER, WILLIAM ROSCOE
THORP, JOSEPH GILBERT
TICKNOR, FLORENCE
TICKNOR, THOMAS BALDWIN
TILLINGHAST, WILLIAM HOP-
KINS
TINDELL, MARTHA WILLSON
NOYES
TOPPAN, SARAH MOODY
TURNER, FREDERICK JACKSON

VAUGHAN, ANNA HARRIET
VAUGHAN, BENJAMIN

WALCOTT, ANNA MORRILL
WALCOTT, ROBERT
WARE, THORNTON MARSHALL
WASHBURN, HENRY BRADFORD
§WENTWORTH, ANNIE LOUISE
LOCKE

WESSELHOEFF, MARY LEAVITT
WESSELHOEFF, WALTER
WHITE, MOSES PERKINS
WHITTEMORE, ISABELLA STEW-
ART

WHITTEMORE, WILLIAM RICH-
ARDSON

WILLARD, SUSANNA
WILLIAMS, OLIVE SWAN
WINLOCK, MARY PEYTON
WORCESTER, SARAH ALICE
WRIGHT, GEORGE GRIER
WYMAN, MARY MORRILL
WYMAN, MORRILL

YERXA, HENRY DETRICK

§ Resigned.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

BARKER, JOHN HERBERT	GOODWIN, ELLIOT HERSEY
CARTER, CHARLES MORLAND	LEVERETT, GEORGE VASMER
DAVENPORT, BENNET FRANKLIN	LOVERING, ERNEST
FELTON, EUNICE WHITNEY	§NICHOLS, JOHN WHITE TREAD-
FARLEY	WELL
WADHAMS, CAROLINE REED	

HONORARY MEMBERS

CHOATE, JOSEPH HODGES	HOWELLS, WILLIAM DEAN
RHODES, JAMES FORD	

§ Resigned.

BY-LAWS

I. CORPORATE NAME.

THE name of this corporation shall be "THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY."

II. OBJECT.

The corporation is constituted for the purpose of collecting and preserving Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials, of procuring the publication and distribution of the same, and generally of promoting interest and research, in relation to the history of Cambridge in said Commonwealth.

III. REGULAR MEMBERSHIP.

Any resident of the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shall be eligible for regular membership in this Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Persons so elected shall become members upon signing the By-Laws and paying the fees therein prescribed.

IV. LIMIT OF REGULAR MEMBERSHIP.

The regular membership of this Society shall be limited to two hundred.

V. HONORARY MEMBERSHIP.

Any person, nominated by the Council, may be elected an honorary member at any meeting of the Society by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Honorary members shall be exempt from paying any fees, shall not be eligible for office, and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VI. ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP.

Any person not a resident, but either a native, or formerly a resident for at least five years, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shall be eligible to

associate membership in the Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Associate members shall be liable for an annual assessment of two dollars each, payable in advance at the Annual Meeting, but shall be liable for no other fees or assessments, and shall not be eligible for office and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VII. SEAL.

The Seal of the Society shall be: Within a circle bearing the name of the Society and the date, 1905, a shield bearing a representation of the Daye Printing Press and crest of two books surmounted by a Greek lamp, with a representation of Massachusetts Hall on the dexter and a representation of the fourth meeting-house of the First Church in Cambridge on the sinister, and, underneath, a scroll bearing the words *Scripta Manent*.

VIII. OFFICERS.

The officers of this corporation shall be a Council of thirteen members, having the powers of directors, elected by the Society, and a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary with the powers of Clerk, a Treasurer, and a Curator, elected out of the Council by the Society. All the above officers shall be chosen by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for the term of one year and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. The Council shall have power to fill all vacancies.

IX. DUTY OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and shall be Chairman of the Council. In case of the death, absence, or incapacity of the President, his powers shall be exercised by the Vice-Presidents, respectively, in the order of their election.

X. DUTY OF SECRETARY.

The Secretary shall keep the records and conduct the correspondence of the Society and of the Council. He shall give to each member of the Society written notice of its meetings. He shall also present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XI. DUTY OF TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds and securities, and shall keep in proper books the accounts, of the corporation. He shall receive and collect all fees and other dues owing to it, and all donations and testamentary gifts made to it. He shall make all investments and disbursements of its funds, but only with the approval of the Council. He shall give the Society a bond, in amount and with sureties satisfactory to the Council, conditioned for the proper performance of his duties. He shall make a written report at each Annual Meeting. Such report shall be audited prior to the Annual Meeting by one or more auditors appointed by the Council.

XII. DUTY OF CURATOR.

The Curator shall have charge, under the direction of the Council, of all Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials of the Society, except the records and books kept by the Secretary and Treasurer. He shall present a written report at each Annual Meeting.

XIII. DUTY OF COUNCIL.

The Council shall have the general management of the property and affairs of the Society, shall arrange for its meetings, and shall present for election from time to time the names of persons deemed qualified for honorary membership. The Council shall present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XIV. MEETINGS.

The Annual Meeting shall be held on the fourth Tuesday in October in each year. Other regular meetings shall be held on the fourth Tuesdays of January, and April of each year, unless the President otherwise directs. Special meetings may be called by the President or by the Council.

XV. QUORUM.

At meetings of the Society ten members, and at meetings of the Council five members, shall constitute a quorum.

XVI. FEES.

The fee of initiation shall be two dollars. There shall also be an annual assessment of three dollars, payable in advance at the Annual

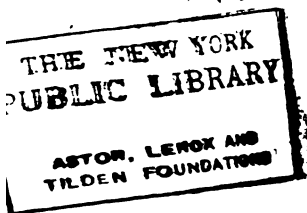
Meeting; but any Regular Member shall be exempted from the annual payment if at any time after his admission he shall pay into the Treasury Fifty Dollars in addition to his previous payments; and any Associate Member shall be similarly exempted on payment of Twenty-five Dollars. All commutations shall be and remain permanently funded, the interest only to be used for current expenses.

XVII. RESIGNATION OF MEMBERSHIP.

All resignations of membership must be in writing, provided, however, that failure to pay the annual assessment within six months after the Annual Meeting may, in the discretion of the Council, be considered a resignation of membership.

XVIII. AMENDMENT OF BY-LAWS.

These By-Laws may be amended at any meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting, provided that the substance of the proposed amendment shall have been inserted in the call for such meeting.



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~~not used~~
F.J.

The Cambridge Historical Society

PUBLICATIONS

VII



PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER 21, 1911—OCTOBER 22, 1912



The Cambridge Historical Society

PUBLICATIONS VII

PROCEEDINGS

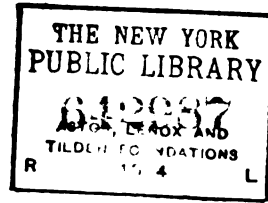
DECEMBER 21, 1911—OCTOBER 22, 1912



CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

Published by the Society

1913



THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, CAMBRIDGE, U. S. A.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE TWENTY-THIRD MEETING

THE TWENTY-THIRD MEETING of THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held in memory of Thomas Wentworth Higginson on the twenty-first day of December, nineteen hundred and eleven, at a quarter after eight o'clock, in Sanders Theatre, Cambridge.

The President, RICHARD HENRY DANA, presided.

The order of exercises was as follows:

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS	RICHARD HENRY DANA.
PUBLIC CAREER OF THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON,	
	HON. SAMUEL W. MCCALL, LL.D.
THE HELPER OF WOMAN'S CAUSE	MRS. LUCIA AMES MEAD.
THE CITIZEN AND NEIGHBOR	REV. S. M. CROTHERS, D.D.
THE MAN OF LETTERS	BLISS PERRY, LL.D.

President DANA made the following introductory remarks:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, MEMBERS OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY: The Committee of the Cambridge Historical Society in charge of the proceedings this evening have permitted me, as President of the Society, to say a few words about Colonel Higginson's work in Cambridge politics.

He represented Cambridge in the State Legislature for

two years, 1880 and 1881. The time at my disposal is too short for me to say more than that we were proud of him, and wished he might have continued to honor us with his presence in the General Court for many years thereafter. He showed his independence by opposing the bill for biennial elections — though it was favored by most of his prominent supporters — believing that on any issue not involved in the campaign a Representative, after hearing all that could be said on both sides, should act on his own best judgment.

Beside running for Congress as Free Soil candidate in 1850, before he came to Cambridge, he accepted in 1888 the Democratic and Independent nomination for Congress in our district against Gen. N. P. Banks, then an old man, an ex-Governor, ex-Speaker of the national House of Representatives, and a distinguished orator, the Republican candidate in a district that was supposed to be overwhelmingly Republican. This was the year when President Cleveland after his first term was defeated by Mr. Harrison, and when there was a general return to the Republican party all over the country; and Colonel Higginson, too, was contesting the seat against a candidate about whose name had gathered much sentiment and even romance. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, Colonel Higginson reduced the usual Republican majority by about one-half, ran ahead of the vote for Electors for President Cleveland in the district, and, I believe, prepared the way for the choice in the next congressional election of 1890, on the same platform and from the same district, of Mr. Sherman Hoar. In his letter of acceptance Colonel Higginson said in part: "It [the election of Mr. Cleveland] has put an end to the delusion that only one of the two great parties is truly patriotic or can be trusted with the government, this being a theory which strikes at the very root of Republican institutions. . . . For the first time in many years we have a president who prac-

tically leads both parties." And again: "Every party which elects upright men is entitled to the credit of their good action, just as every party which nominates unscrupulous men, or even takes them for its real leaders while going through the form of nominating some one else, drops to their level and is responsible for their misdeeds."

During the campaign, being pressed to answer the question what he should do in Congress if a question came up from the Committee on Elections as to the admission of a certain member, Republican or Democrat, he replied: "What should I do as a Democratic member? I should do just the same, I trust, as if I were a Republican member — look into the facts as they were and give my vote without fear or favor. You say, 'It is easy to talk, but you would n't find it so easy when the pressure came.' What is the 'pressure'? What pressure need be brought to bear upon a man who is nominated by a party without his asking, without its asking for any pledges, nominated by acclamation, simply with the request that he should go to Washington and do what he thinks right? They say, 'It is n't so easy when you get there.' I dare say not. It is n't to do easy things that men are sent to Washington, I supposed; I supposed it was to do difficult things. . . . I don't say it is an easy thing for a man to stand up against his own party, but I think that every man who dares to represent this or any district of Massachusetts in Congress ought to be able to say as Dr. Channing said when he was asked what he would do under certain circumstances. He said: 'What I *can* do in the hour of trial may be doubtful, what I *ought* to do is plain, and what I *desire* to do is known to the Searcher of all hearts.' "

Colonel Higginson was a regular voter at both caucuses and elections up to the very last, no matter how old or feeble he was or how bad the weather. In Cambridge municipal

affairs he was a member of, and contributor to the various associations for good government that succeeded one another in this city. He presided and spoke at many of the campaign meetings, and his name and influence were eagerly sought on every local issue; but no one need think that he signed his name, as so many do, because requested. No matter how influential were the leaders of the organization who brought a paper for his signature, he always, as I know from my own experience, asked the most searching questions and brought to bear his rich knowledge of men and policies before deciding what action to take; and this care often resulted in improved wording of the circulars, and in some cases in a changed course of action. At political meetings, whether as speaker or presiding officer, he maintained the same self-possession and delightful sense of humor which so brightened his literary work. This is illustrated by one occasion when, Mr. Higginson being in the chair, two prominent members of the meeting became involved in acrimonious personalities addressed directly to each other, and which became very bitter. Colonel Higginson rapped with his gavel, and in the sweetest and most quiet manner said, "Believing in the importance of parliamentary procedure, I shall ask the gentlemen hereafter to address their personal remarks to myself." The idea of addressing such remarks to Mr. Higginson struck the whole meeting as so ridiculous that they burst into laughter and the ill feeling was immediately allayed.

I shall ask the Chairman of the Committee in charge of this meeting to read a selection from a number of very interesting letters,—Mr. William Roscoe Thayer.

MR. WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER. Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: The date of this meeting, which falls on the eve of Colonel Higginson's birthday, unfortunately comes so

near Christmas that many of the persons to whom we sent invitations could not come. The many varieties of persons to whom invitations needed to be sent bore in upon me and the other members of the Committee the very wide contacts of the man. I shall read three letters, brief letters, but I think each in a way shows not only a personal appreciation of Colonel Higginson, but also that the manner in which each of the writers came into personal contact with him was very different from the others. The first is from the editor of "Harper's Magazine":

EDITORIAL ROOMS, HARPER'S MAGAZINE, NEW YORK.
December 8, 1911.

DEAR MR. THAYER:

I regret that I cannot be with you on the 21st, but I most heartily join with the Cambridge Historical Society in its tribute to Colonel Higginson, to whom America owes so much for what he was, for what he did, and for what he wrote. His association with Cambridge is most intimate in the minds of us all; and for vivid portraiture of Cambridge life and society, and his disclosures of the men and women who gave distinction to that earliest important seat of culture in America, no writer has done more. But if he dwelt lovingly and luminously where he was born to dwell, he could not be provincial — even Cambridge he delocalized and made national. In the field of practical service he gave everything he touched the same expansion, till it was coterminous with the Commonwealth — with humanity itself.

Uniting with all his friends in loving and grateful memory,

Yours faithfully,

H. M. ALDEN.

The next is from Henry Van Dyke:

AVALON, PRINCETON, N. J.

DEAR MR. THAYER:

I am very sorry that a previous engagement for December 21st will prevent me from being present at the meeting to honor the memory of that true American gentleman and delightful writer, Thomas Wentworth Higginson. There was a fine courage in his life, a sincere courtesy in his behavior, and a clear charm in his written and spoken words which made him distinguished among his brother-men and fellow-citizens, to

whose welfare he was devoted and in whose service he fought and labored. He was young with vigor, and he grew old with grace.

The rolling years remove familiar figures and bring new types of citizenship and authorship. But they are not likely to bring a more sincere, devout, and gracious type of democratic aristocrat than Colonel Higginson. I feel his departure as a personal loss, and cherish his memory with affection and high regard.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY VAN DYKE.

December 14, 1911.

And the last is dated at the British Embassy, Washington, D. C. :

BRITISH EMBASSY, WASHINGTON, December 11, 1911.

DEAR MR. THAYER:

Greatly to my regret I cannot be present at the exercises to commemorate the character and services of my dear old friend, Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson. It would have been a pleasure to me to join in a tribute to the dignity and worth of a career always devoted to high ideals, as well as to the kindness and warmth of his nature. He was a grand specimen of the old New England type, unshaken in principle, full of courage, strenuous in good causes, and the example he set deserves to be cherished, not only by his friends, but by all who remember the Civil War period, and what Massachusetts did in those trying times.

Believe me to be

Very truly yours,

JAMES BRYCE.

MR. DANA. Substantially the same congressional district for which Colonel Higginson ran as a member of Congress in 1888 has been represented for a good many years by a member who has had the same characteristics for courage and independence of party rule which Colonel Higginson himself exhibited and which has not rendered him unpopular in this day of historic rebellion against all kinds of tyranny. You have all heard of him as a radical leader in affairs of our own time. I may say that the speaker has hurried on from Washington, where he was busy in the debates on the Russian treaty, and he just barely got here in time for this

meeting, for which we are all extremely grateful. I have the pleasure of presenting to you the Hon. Samuel W. McCall, representing this district in Congress.

Mr. McCALL delivered the following address :

PUBLIC CAREER OF THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON

THE thing that most impressed me in examining somewhat carefully the political career of Colonel Higginson was his readiness for public service without regard to any personal distinction that might come to himself. In writing about his own life in 1898 he said: "In looking back fifty years, I cannot put my finger on five years when I myself was not performing some official service for the city or State or both simultaneously." He served upon the School Committee in all the four places in which he resided. In three of them where there was a public library he was a member of its Board of Trustees, and in the fourth place, which had no library, he was a leader in the movement to establish one. He was one year at the head of the Governor's staff, two years in the State House of Representatives, three years on the State Board of Education, and seven years State Military and Naval Historian.

This is simply the record of his connection with the civil departments of government. There remains his service in war and upon the lecture platform, which is next to the political platform, and where he did much that was of an important public character. He seems to have enlisted for life in the public service. Much of what he did was gratuitously done, and all of it was entirely disinterested.

His service in the army was as colonel of a regiment, and when he retired because of the effects of an injury received in battle he might doubtless have retired with the rank above his own, but he thought the rank of brigadier-general would be too high for a civilian to live up to, and he preferred to keep his fighting rank. That same notion seemed to govern him in his civil career. He was animated not by a desire to win personal glory, but by a wish to render public service.

The first important part which he took in politics was as a candidate for Congress in 1850 from the Newburyport district. This nomination was forced upon him, and after he had been chosen he attempted to get Judge Josiah G. Abbot to run in his place. But Judge Abbot declined on the ground that he would immediately get into quarrels with Southern members and would have to fight duels to which he was conscientiously opposed. If we may judge from Colonel Higginson's career, he might have made even more strongly the same objection, for while he was not of a quarrelsome disposition he never seems to have avoided a fight which came his way, and his whole record shows that he was on very good terms with danger. His most important contribution to the campaign of 1850 was the address which he issued to the voters of the Third District, and it will rank with the best political manifestoes of that time. It presents with great vigor the arguments against the slavery compromises of that year, and his argument acquired even greater force from the restraint with which he stated it. There was no vituperation, there was very little of personality, but there was a powerful statement of the evils of the Compromise, and especially of that part of it which related to the return of fugitive slaves and to permitting the new Mexican territory to enter the Union with slavery. He was willing to take his stand with the Free-soil party, and declared that if he ever could find another party truer and wiser in freedom's cause, "I trust I may be able to take any place that may be assigned to me in its ranks without ambition and without a fear." He was of course not elected, because his party was in a small minority in the district. For the next ten years his public service was mainly upon the lecture platform and especially in support of the antislavery agitation.

The first office of more than local importance that he ever held was that of captain of a company of volunteers near the beginning of the war. But before he saw active service in this position he was asked to take the command of the first negro regiment organized in the Civil War. He accepted this post and was highly successful in it. His regiment was an untrained body of men, only recently out of slavery, and Higginson showed remarkable tact in controlling them and in establishing discipline. It scarcely needs saying that he displayed great coolness and courage under fire.

Not the least notable part of his public service was rendered as a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. He invariably took the democratic position, not in the partisan sense but in the best meaning of that term. In his "Cheerful Yesterdays" he gives it as his firm conviction that there never was an honester body of men than the two Massachusetts legislatures of which he was a member during the early eighties. That opinion of the general integrity of our legislatures is held by most of the men who have served in them and have had an opportunity to know them. Probably he was told by the press, as we are apt to be told to-day, that each one of these legislatures was more corrupt than any of its predecessors. The people make of their legislature a species of pillory, and when they wish to pelt a man they "honor" him with an election to it. This constant denunciation of their chosen agents has led the people in the direction of what is sometimes called taking the power into their own hands, and the culmination of this movement in the initiative, referendum, and recall will be likely to embark society in a hot-air balloon that is not even dirigible, so that it may scud before every wind that blows.

It is refreshing to have Higginson refute the notion that there is any general feeling of jealousy or hostility toward what is called the scholar in politics. He modestly says that he had been much oftener saddened by the too great deference of men who were his superiors in everything but a diploma than by jealousy. His observation was undoubtedly just. It is good, too, to note his shrewd conclusions regarding public speaking which he had reached by observing those who had spoken upon the same platform with himself. It offended his soul to have a fellow-speaker flatter and cajole an audience and cover it with palaver, instead of standing squarely upon his feet and delivering his message even though it were an unpopular one.

When there was what amounted to civil war in Kansas to determine whether it should be a free or a slave State, he was prominent in organizations which sent to that Territory many stanch emigrants in favor of freedom, and, not content with sending others, he himself went out at the head of a large party and exposed himself freely to the dangers that then threatened

one who held his views upon slavery and who was ever ready to express them. He was made one of Lane's brigadier-generals, although that honor was rather a sounding one because Lane seems to have commissioned enough brigadiers to supply a great army. But it was not by fighting, but by the influence he exerted personally and through the antislavery men he led into the Territory, that he proved a strong force for making Kansas a free State.

The relations of Higginson to John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry, which at the time received a good deal of criticism, have been made clear by Higginson himself and in Villard's admirable life of Brown. Brown wrote Higginson for assistance in the enterprise of freeing slaves which the former proposed to carry on in the mountains of Virginia, and Higginson was very ready to assist him by raising money. Brown's first plan miscarried so far as going to Virginia was concerned, and upon renewing it a year afterward Higginson was unable to take any part of consequence in the movement and, as he said, the affair had come to seem to him chimerical. But when Brown's enterprise took so startling a form and suddenly came to disaster, Higginson did not attempt to shirk any share of the responsibility; in fact, he seemed willing generously to take a larger share than was really his. He took the position toward the others who had raised money for Brown that, having approved the latter's plans, as they understood them, it was better to stand their ground and give him some moral support at least on the witness stand. His name was given in an anonymous letter to Governor Wise as one of two men who could explain the whole of Brown's plot, and he was threatened with arrest. He declared that his arrest would have been quite superfluous, for, as he said, he would at any time have been ready to go, when summoned, and nobody questioned that. After Brown's conviction Higginson, wishing to rescue him from prison, went to New York and arranged for Mrs. Brown to go to Harper's Ferry in furtherance of the scheme. But when Brown heard of it, he positively forbade any attempt to carry it out.

While Higginson was not disposed to shirk one particle of responsibility, it is clear that he did not understand the exact nature of the raid beforehand, as it was actually put into execution, and

the same is doubtless true of most, if not all, of the other people in Massachusetts who were interested with him. So far as I have been able to learn, Higginson supposed that Brown intended to establish an underground railway, such as he had operated in Missouri, and that it was his object to free individual slaves, to conceal them in the Alleghany mountains and if necessary to defend their freedom. When it came time for Brown to put his plan into execution, with a remarkable aberration of judgment, he openly began war upon the national government by capturing the arsenal at Harper's Ferry. Frederick Douglass attempted in vain to dissuade him from the plan and gave him sensible advice. The attack on the arsenal Douglass declared was an attack on the federal government and would array the whole country against him; it "was a perfect steel trap," Douglass said, and once within it, he would never be able to get out alive. The enterprise as Brown developed it was entirely impossible of success and resulted in the destruction of many lives, the first victim being an innocent free negro. Mr. Villard in his life of Brown, in which he shows a remarkable desire to chronicle the exact facts, leaves little room for doubt, upon the material he has collected, as to the cause of Brown's extraordinary action. Mr. John M. Forbes, at whose house Brown once visited, spoke of the look of insanity in his "glittering gray-blue eyes." Brown's own personal history and that of his family would have made perfect the defense of insanity, if any additional evidence were needed to that which the character of the raid itself afforded. He certainly did not have the kind of responsibility that should have sent him to the scaffold. The undoubted effect of the raid was to produce a genuine alarm in the South. It is not so clear that it strengthened abolitionism in the North. At any rate, this much is true—that in the critical winter of 1860-61 the cause of abolitionism seemed to have less strength than it had ever had after it had become an established agitation. The most abhorrent compromises with slavery, such as had never been dreamed of by the Whigs, were passed through both Houses of Congress by the votes of the Republican members. As to one of the important counts in the indictment against Webster, his acceptance in the Compromise of 1850 of the proposition that certain Territories should be permitted to decide for themselves whether they would

have slavery when they should be admitted to the Union—that was one of the mildest of the compromises offered and voted for by Republicans in Congress in the winter of 1860. Freedom was indeed brought about by a revolution, but it was not a revolution inaugurated by the enemies of slavery but by its friends. The force that won freedom was the force of law. We can all admire Brown's fervent zeal for freedom, but it would be very dangerous to sanction the methods which he employed. Slavery was a terrible thing, but in the opinion of men living to-day there are many other terrible things in society. Often real wrongs find shelter for a time under any system of government, as well as fancied wrongs, and often men whose minds dwell upon a single evil will come to think of it as the sum of all evil. Men have a laudable way of devising political inventions for making society better, if not perfect. These are somewhat like the inventions in the Patent Office, a very large proportion of which are ingenious but not practical, and it often happens that the less of real value a political or mechanical invention has the more it is believed to have by the man who possesses it or who is possessed by it. Some of these inventors are likely to take the law into their own hands, and, if they cannot do so peaceably, to employ violent methods to establish their reform. The true method of providing remedies under a government like ours is by a resolute and lawful agitation such as Garrison employed. Any other principle than that would make violence the agency of reform, dynamite and the dagger would take the place of discussion, and government by law would cease to exist.

Higginson was ready to fight for his ideas, and when the irrepressible conflict finally came he was willing to risk his life for that freedom which he worshiped in his soul. The study of his public career shows him to have been a wholesome, invigorating, and beneficent force in public as he was in private life. He was ever ready to lift up his voice for unpopular causes if only they were just. His career affords a splendid example of the unselfish, courageous, and sane devotion of brilliant talent to the public service.

Mrs. LUCIA AMES MEAD then read the following paper:

THE HELPER OF WOMAN'S CAUSE

It is fitting that on Forefathers' Day we should meet to commemorate the life, rich in years, in culture and beneficence, of a descendant of that noble, virile stock of Puritans who led an exodus which Lowell deemed the most significant since Moses led his little band of outcasts out of Egypt toward the Promised Land.

Three hundred years and more his blood had run
In no polluted course from sire to son,
And thus was he predestined ere his birth
To serve the land whereto his fibers felt instinctive sympathies.

Just three centuries ago, Colonel Higginson's saintly progenitor was laying in Jesus College, in England's Cambridge, the foundation for that culture and courage which he transmitted to his long list of noble descendants when, by the "rude grasp of that great impulse which drove him across the sea," he came to Salem's rocky pastures and salt marshes. It is also as a pioneer that America's Cambridge honors its distinguished citizen to-night.

Others will speak of his learning and rare literary gifts, of his love of freedom of religious thought, of his heroic service to his black regiment in which he risked ignominious death upon a Southern gallows. But it is my special privilege to voice the gratitude of that half of America's citizens who owe him a peculiar debt for his chivalric, pioneer service in the cause of justice to woman. Colonel Higginson was a knight *par excellence, sans peur et sans reproche*. In early life, in addition to espousing two other unpopular causes, he championed the cause of wives and mothers whose position before the law of that benighted time was scarcely more than that of a domestic servant.

He saw a weeping child torn from its mother and sold upon the block in a slave market in Missouri, and the righteous wrath that blanched his cheek nerved his hand to take the sword in mortal combat against that "earth-born Cyclops," slavery. In a court room in Massachusetts he saw two weeping children torn from their mother by a guardian appointed by their dead father. Because she had married again, the law of the State took from her all right over her own flesh and blood. The young divine's cheek blanched

with the horror of the tragedy, and he thereupon pledged himself to do all that lay in his power to redress the wrongs against women inflicted by cruel law and medieval tradition.

It is difficult indeed for us women of the twentieth century, free to travel and work and study as we will and even, unridiculed, to speak from platform and pulpit, to visualize the Massachusetts of that day. There was then in Boston no high school for girls, though since 1632 the city had provided that white and even Indian boys should be trained for admittance into Harvard College. In 1825 a high school had been opened as an experiment, and it was soon so crowded that the experiment became an "alarming success" and was abandoned. When Mr. Higginson wrote his first plea for the education of woman, only one college in the country — Oberlin — stood open to her as against about three hundred and seventy-five at present. At that date no mention of woman as maid, wife, or widow was on the index of the journal of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts. No woman could be a witness and proceed against her husband for desertion. She could not hold trust estates. Her husband could, by will, deprive her of every part of his property and also of what had been her own before her marriage. The husband owned all of the wife's real estate and her earnings. She could make no contract and no will, and could have no redress at law if her husband took her children, her clothes, her earnings, and neglected to support the family. Even if unmarried, she could hold property only through trustees.

It will be remembered that it was only after a frightful tragedy, in which a mother, driven insane by a brutal husband, butchered her six children to keep him from taking them from her, that the law was altered in this State; yet to-day, in all but fourteen States, this infamous law still holds good. Mr. Higginson tells us that in 1852 he found women teaching in grammar schools for \$175 per annum and men doing the same work receiving \$500, and he quotes a legal authority of that date who said, "the husband may in the plenitude of his power, adopt every act of physical coercion which does not endanger the life and health of his wife." "We rob woman of the right to the soil she stands on," said the indignant preacher, "and then beg leave to offer her a chair."

His great contemporaries — Emerson, Lincoln, Sumner, Garrison,

Phillips, Mark Twain, Beecher, Senator Hoar, George William Curtis, Longfellow, Whittier, Howells, Phillips Brooks, and, more especially, Samuel Sewall, James Freeman Clarke, and Theodore Parker — shared his belief in woman suffrage and occasionally used voice and pen in its advocacy, but it was our friend who, more than any other, from youth to age, spoke most persistently and persuasively. He was as truly a pioneer as he who with Bible and axe plunged into the rude wilderness, ever ready to cut a pathway for feebler feet and to build a temple of justice where special privilege should find no advocate. He loved the goddess Freedom, and he was not dismayed by the grotesque and irritating satellites that follow too often in her train. He was a lover of democracy and, sensitive as he was to the delicate refinements of life, he had the radium power of revealing her true being behind the rough exterior in which the goddess often masks.

"I should far rather be governed by the community as a whole," said he, "than by my ablest friend and his ablest friends. The safeguard of scientific legislation may be in the heads of a cultivated few, but the safeguard of personal freedom is commonly in the hands of the uncultivated many."

Emerson, with profound wisdom, has told us that the measure of a man's intellectual attainment is his power to perceive identity. Colonel Higginson had this power in high degree. Beneath the black man's skin he saw the human soul, identical with his in its ultimate potentialities. Beneath a humble bonnet and shawl he saw the citizen, obliged to obey lawmakers, but, unlike himself, without a voice in changing them, and he found her cause identical with his. Therefore he sharpened his sword for combat against hoary prejudice, tradition, and inertia, which kept his sword unto the end unrusted and unsheathed. Like Landseer's picture of "Dignity," he looked serenely past the barking pup of popular prejudice and cared not a jot for jeer or gibe.

Colonel Higginson was no Arthurian knight tilting in tournaments to win the favor of fair ladies. He was rather a knightly elder brother, unenamoured and unbewitched, and knowing intimately the humdrum commonplaceness and deficiencies of his inexperienced sisters. He was no flatterer and never offered the sickening adulation to women which usually implies real dis-

respect. The frivolous dames of Newport he compared with the foam on their broad beach. The type of women that he honored were the earnest souls who made with him the quiet, stubborn, never-ceasing protest against those laws and those traditions which hindered human freedom and efficiency. It was women like Lucretia Mott, Mrs. Stowe, Miss Anthony, Lucy Stone, Mrs. Cheney, Mrs. Livermore, and Mrs. Howe that he delighted to honor, and it was to these and their feminine comrades in the suffrage movement that he attributed the influence which finally removed those laws which so long disgraced our Massachusetts code.

Out of Colonel Higginson's fifty books, four, besides his life of Margaret Fuller, concern women. It was owing to the influence of his book, "Shall Women Learn the Alphabet?" that the donor of Smith College made her generous gift to women students. For years he contributed weekly an editorial to the "Woman's Journal." His "Common Sense about Women," I wish might be put into the hands of every college graduate, for the young man to-day needs a far greater comprehension of woman's history and point of view than sufficed his grandfather. "I have never been able to see that there was a quality or grace of character which really belonged exclusively to either sex or which failed to win honor when exercised by either. The life which is common to the sexes is the principal life; the life which each leads as such is a subordinate thing," he said. He criticised Darwin for failing to note in his list of men's superior attainments that in nearly every case of masculine pre-eminence woman was excluded from any fair competition, and he claimed that woman was now gaining on man in at least prose fiction and dramatic representation. He saw that the empire of the past properly belonged to man, as it was an empire of force, and woman was naturally subordinate. But since, in the fullness of time, release from slavery to the spinning-wheel and needle has come by man's invasion through machinery into woman's work, he saw arising "a new empire of higher reason, of arts, affections, and inspirations." He believed in the dignity of self-support for women, and saw nothing admirable in the domestic paradise depicted in English novels—"half a dozen unmarried daughters round the family hearth, all assiduously doing worsted work and petting papa."

While woman's strength is not as man's, he thought her power of endurance greater, and said: "One grows tired of hearing young men who can do nothing but row or swing dumb-bells and are thrown off their training by the loss of a night's sleep speak contemptuously of a woman who can watch with a sick person half a dozen nights together."

He thought the modern girl stronger than the imaginary Amazon of colonial days, whose enormous number of offspring frequently died early, and he fortified himself with quotations from a French visitor of 1782, who reports our women at twenty as having lost the freshness of youth and at thirty-five and forty as wrinkled and decrepit. He admired neither the tearful, fainting heroine of the novels of his youth nor the slangy hoyden of his later years, when basket ball and hockey and the outdoor life and freedom which he so constantly advocated have developed a type not always to be admired.

He protested earnestly against the retention of the word "obey" in the marriage service, and reported his courteous remonstrance to an Episcopal clergyman after witnessing a marriage with that form; the clergyman admitted, after reflection, that he thought the woman ought not to take such a vow. He saw all the sophistry in the argument that the word is synonymous with *service*, as I was once told it was by a Congregational clergyman who always used the form whenever he could persuade a couple to accept it. Colonel Higginson saw in this an odious relic of the time when every woman was a child before the law, and he resented this perpetuation of ancient disrespect, this assumption that whenever the judgments of an adult man or woman differed, the woman must be pledged in advance to yield whether her reason was convinced or not. Father Hall, pledged in early youth to obey the Cowley Fathers, and in his mature years commanded against his judgment to leave his Boston pulpit and return to England, showed by his obedience the true interpretation of that dangerous vow.

Our friend made no extravagant claims for woman suffrage. He knew that women would make mistakes. But in spite of all objections he declared, "This fact remains and all history shows it—that on all that concerns her own protection a woman needs a vote." He felt that woman's greater solicitude for all humanita-

rian questions was needed to balance man's disproportionate interest for legislation concerning property. The votes of mothers and teachers would, in his opinion, be of value to a national government that gives more attention to the protection of lobsters and the development of hogs than to supplying data for the raising of children.

In his own home he practiced all he preached, and those who knew him best know how more than tender were his service, his loyalty, and his love.

"He saw God stand upon the weaker side: therefore he went,
And humbly joined him to the weaker part.
So he could be the nearer to God's heart,
And feel its solemn pulses sending blood
Through all the widespread veins of endless good."

In introducing the Reverend Samuel M. Crothers to speak on "Colonel Higginson as a Citizen and Neighbor," Mr. Dana said:

Colonel Higginson, though a prolific writer and diligent reader and having varied interests, always had time to say a pleasant word to his neighbors on the street, throwing light and cheerfulness about him, and almost invariably saying something worth remembering. He was fond of young people; and I can well remember seeing him when over sixty, with Bishop (then Dean) Lawrence and Mrs. Dana, coasting down Gurney Hill with their children. I saw this only once myself; but Mrs. Dana tells me that it frequently occurred.

Mr. CROTHERS delivered the following address:

THE CITIZEN AND NEIGHBOR

COTTON MATHER, in one of his numerous biographies, comes to one of the early ministers of Cambridge, and in order to sum up his character he simply gives entire the epitaph which we may still find in the tombstone in our Cambridge churchyard; and he adds, for the benefit of his English friends, "In New England tombstones have not yet learned to lie."

Now, I am not sure about that, but even when eulogies and epitaphs attempt to tell the truth it is very difficult in the mere language of eulogy to tell what any real man is like, to give a sense of the man he was, the unique quality that belonged to him and made us love him and made us admire him. The language of eulogy almost inevitably blurs the quality which is most characteristic of the man himself. We say of a man, "He is a good man, a true man"; but we do not tell what kind of a good man he was, or how his truth manifested itself — whether it came in solemn guise or whether it simply played about his mind. And to describe a man like Colonel Higginson in any conventional terms is impossible. Even to give an account of the different things he did conveys no idea of the grace and the charm of his way of doing them. He did a great many things, and he did a great many things well. We can say of him that he was a minister, he was a reformer, he was a fighter, he was a man of gentle character, he was a good citizen, he was a kind neighbor. We have a great many good citizens in Cambridge, and a great many kind neighbors in Cambridge; but there was only one Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and this community is not quite the same now that he has passed out of it. But this community is a more sacred and more beautiful place because of our memory of him and because of what he did here.

He was a man of scholarly habit. We have a great many scholars in Cambridge, but they are not all like him. We have all seen reformers; we have thought of them when we wanted to fight against them. Colonel Higginson was the kind of reformer that we wanted to fight *with*, even when we had to fight against; the kind of reformer who charmed us when we might most earnestly disagree with what he was saying.

Colonel Higginson was a man who united two qualities which very rarely are united, and if they could be united more often this would be a much more agreeable world to live in. He was a man individualistic in the very fiber of his mind, a man who delighted not only to seek truth but to speak truth. He was a man who liked to give us a piece of his mind, and that is not generally a very agreeable kind of man; but he was a man also of neighborliness, of kindliness, of sympathy, of good humor. Now, usually, a

man who insists upon speaking his uttermost mind is an unsympathetic person toward the rank and file; he is a man who goes about as a superior person. That is the reason why the word "critic" has such an unpleasant association. Colonel Higginson was essentially a critic, and a critic of society. It would be interesting to know how many letters of protest Colonel Higginson from time to time wrote for the newspapers; when anything went wrong one would hear from him; but the wonderful thing was that these letters of protest were readable, and pleasant to read, and they had a certain carrying power with them.

There was a certain quality in Colonel Higginson's mind which is not expressed by ordinary words. The only word for it that I know, that expresses the quality of his mind, is that word which Horace Walpole coined, and which, unfortunately, the world did not take up and accept and put in the dictionary, the word "serendipity" — Colonel Higginson had a "serendipitous" mind. Walpole coined the word "serendipity" from an oriental tale. In the true sense one who possessed serendipity was one who saw a great many things that nobody else noticed and which they had not expected to see. So he defines "serendipity" as accidental sagacity, the seeing what is actually there, but which you were not looking for and nobody told you was there.

Now, there are very few people in any community of that temper. If there were more there would be fewer abuses. We usually see what we are told to see, what we want to prove is there; and the larger part of our moral life is of that character. We are extremely docile. Mrs. Browning says: "Men get opinions as boys learn to read, by repetition, chiefly." Colonel Higginson brought a keen and quick intelligence to bear upon the things of the passing day, and he kept that habit of mind to the very end. When a thing appeared that was right in his eyes, he praised it. When a thing that looked very much like that came next day, he was the first to recognize that it was different and that it was evil. His mind did not move mechanically; it moved spontaneously. And so he continually surprised people, and his moral nature was always breaking out in a new spot. You could n't quite know what he would do to-morrow, unless you happened to have something of the same nature, and then you knew what he would do. It was the spirit of youth con-

tinued through life. And I know nothing which more proves the sound, sweet, wholesome nature of the man than that he lived the life of a reformer, and lived happily as a reformer in such a community as this. For I think there is no community more difficult for such a man to carry out his scheme of life and his ideal, because the ideal of the born reformer is boldly and fearlessly to express and expound an unpopular truth; and in this community when a man does that, that truth becomes popular before he knows it.

In Jerusalem men stoned the prophets, and after they were long dead built their monuments. In this community of New England there is a little stone-throwing at the prophets, as a sort of initiation into their life work; but I do not know and I cannot recall at the present time any instance when that stone-throwing was fatal, and if the prophet lived to maturity, people began to build his monument before he was dead. Now, no prophet likes that, and you will notice in every New England reformer a certain rebellion against the process. The time comes when he wants to do something that is not respectable, and he doesn't know just how. Almost all of the men of Colonel Higginson's generation found great difficulty in adapting themselves to life after the antislavery conflict was over. Many of them became bitter and disappointed. Colonel Higginson's saving sense of humor, his rare humanity, his great adaptability saved him from two things in all his later life — it saved him from simply continuing automatically a battle which had already been fought and gained, and it saved him from that other malady of the successful reformer — it saved him in his old age from becoming a sage. Nobody ever thought of Colonel Higginson as a sage. They always thought of him as the youngest man in any company. He seemed to be just beginning his life.

And so we find him going from one field of endeavor to another, never coming to that sense of completion which means that one has reached the natural limit of his own mind. There always seemed, as you talked with him, more beyond; and he was always, to the last, a forward looker. When I think of him I think of those lines of Emerson which expressed his own aspiration:

*"Teach me your mood, oh, patient stars,
Who climb each night the ancient sky,
Leaving on space no shade, no scars,
No trace of age, no fear to die."*

Professor BLISS PERRY then read a paper entitled

THE MAN OF LETTERS

COMPARATIVELY few persons, even in this audience composed of Colonel Higginson's neighbors, can remember him when he was not already old in years. He published verse in 1842. When he tried to rescue Sims from the Courthouse, he was twenty-seven; and that was over sixty years ago. It is almost half a century since he received his commission as Colonel, and he was then in middle life. Part of the purely personal interest which he aroused and so amply rewarded was a sort of antiquarian curiosity which he had too much humor not to recognize. Here was one who had touched the hands of the elder gods of our American literature, who had known Emerson, Longfellow, and Whittier while they were still young men; one who had actually attended that half-mythical Boston lecture by Edgar Allan Poe. In the delicate cadences of the closing paragraph of his "Oldport Wharves," Mr. Higginson describes an existence not unlike his own in later years:

"The superannuated fisherman graduates into an oracle; the longer he lives, the greater the dignity of his experience; he remembers the great storm, the great tide, the great catch, the great shipwreck; and on all emergencies his counsel has weight. He still busies himself about the boats too, and still sails on sunny days to show the youngsters the best fishing ground. When too infirm for even this, he can at least sun himself beside the landing, and dreaming over inexhaustible memories, watch the bark of his own life go down."

Compared with the men who were treasured in Colonel Higginson's inexhaustible memories, he himself belonged to the "second growth" of our literature, but he had sprung tall and straight and graciously from the as yet unexhausted New England soil. In the attics of old houses in Salem there may still be seen the wide boards of clear, straight-grained pine, toned to a mellow violin

coloring by the stray shafts of sunlight. The prose of Mr. Higginson had that same flawless texture, the same heritage and tinge of sunshine. His style matured very early. It was already perfected when he wrote the gay, supple, singing "Charge with Prince Rupert." It is as difficult to date one of his essays by the test of its style as it is to date one of Aldrich's songs or Longfellow's sonnets. "The long centuries," Higginson once wrote, "set aside all considerations of quantity, of popularity, of immediate influence, and sternly test by quality alone,—judge each author by his most golden sentence, and let all else go." This test of quality is precisely the one by which the lover of Colonel Higginson's work would wish it to be tried. He wrote hundreds of golden sentences.

He did not have the fortune, like his friend Mrs. Howe, to win fame by one ecstatic lyric, or, like Wasson and Ellery Channing, to be remembered by one famous line. Though an accomplished orator, he never, like Phillips in Faneuil Hall, made a name by a single speech. Yet there is quality throughout Higginson's prose and his slender pages of verse, and there is rich variety.

It would be hard to find in American literature any nature-essays which surpass his "Water Lilies," "Foot-paths," and "A Summer Afternoon"; an ethical essay more tonic than "Saints and Their Bodies." We have had no biographical essay more wholly admirable than the "Theodore Parker," and certainly none more delightful than the "John Holmes"; while a more clever controversial essay than Higginson's "Ought Women to Learn the Alphabet" has not been written since the alphabet came into general use. Higginson served his State and his College as historiographer; and his *Young Folks' History* was something far more than a perfunctory task. He coasted by the shores of Romance in *Malbone* and "The Monarch of Dreams"; the last a powerful sketch closing with the train of recruits roaring off for the great War, to reveal, like the bugle-notes and banners in Arnold's poem, the futility of the "shy recluses" who cannot follow. Since the Preface to the *Mosses from an Old Manse* was written, we have had no descriptive sketches more worthy of comparison with Hawthorne's than Higginson's delicious *Oldport Days*. I do not know whether anybody is reading them just now, nor, for that matter, whether anybody is reading the Preface to the *Mosses*; but there the pages are, and

neither Hawthorne nor his pupil will find many gentler or sunnier pages in the Elysian Fields.

Mr. Higginson tested repeatedly his gifts as a biographer. Nothing that he wrote in this field fails in grace, in sound judgment, or in fullness of knowledge. The *Whittier* and the *Longfellow*, however, were both written in his advanced age, and there was not much that was new to say. His *Life of Margaret Fuller* remains the most notable of his studies of other authors: a baffling, difficult book to write, and a wise and penetrating book to read.

In *Army Life in a Black Regiment* we touch autobiography. The narrative is as vivid a transcript of experience as Dana's *Before the Mast* and Parkman's *Oregon Trail*, and in neither of those better-known books is there a better chapter than Higginson's "Night in the Water." The whole book demanded tact and humor, a sense of human and historical values, and a professional pride in which the Colonel of the First South Carolina Volunteers was never wanting. I remember that upon one of the last occasions when he attended a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society a paper was read demonstrating the ignorance and illiteracy of the negroes of the South Atlantic States, who, we were assured, could scarcely speak or even understand English. The veteran Colonel of the First South Carolina rose very unsteadily to his feet, and made this perfect reply: "My men could understand *me*, when I gave the word, '*Forward*'" !

Of Higginson's *Cheerful Yesterdays*, surely one of the most delightful of autobiographies, what can one say that has not already been said silently tonight, as the tall figure of its author has risen before our memories. To praise the book is to praise him, so perfectly was it a part of him; not the mere inevitable and unconscious betrayal of the personality of an author; but the unconditional surrender of it to the minds and hearts of his friends !

Mr. Higginson was one of those fortunate writers who could transfer to his pages the whole of his personal character. You can no more subtract from his books his idealism, his consistent courage, his erect Americanism, than you can subtract Sir Philip Sidney's knightly qualities from his essay on the nature of poetry. Mr. Higginson loved children and all innocent things. He was chivalrous, not merely towards women, — which is easy, — but towards

"woman," — which is somewhat more difficult. His wit had always a touch of tartness for the American *parvenu*; for he had lived long in Newport and was a good field naturalist. His satire also amused itself with the Englishmen who could not understand what our Civil War was fought for. But in general, Mr. Higginson's list of antipathies was not much longer than such a list should be. Surrounded all his life by reformers, he had, like Emerson, a shrewd detached sense of the eccentricities of reformers. He wrote an amusing essay about it. Many of us have seen him bare his noble gray head when he entered a polling booth, but he never took off his hat to any mere vulgar political or literary majority. To the very end, he remained what Europeans call an "1848" man; he carried that old idealism serenely through the demoralized American epoch of the eighteen-eighties and nineties into the new idealistic current of today. It is no wonder that he was idolized by the young.

Yet his good fortune lay not merely in this identification of his character with his work as a man of letters. He was also fortunate in settling upon a form of literature precisely adapted to the instincts of his mind. He was a born essayist and autobiographer. Too versatile a workman — and too dependent upon his pen for bread — to confine himself to his true *genre*, he still kept returning to it, like the homing bee. The flexibility of the essay form, its venturesomeness, its perpetual sally and retreat, tempted his happy audacity. But beneath the wit and grace and fire of his phrases, there is the fine conservatism of the scholar, the inimitable touch of the writer whose taste has been trained by the classics. His essays on *An Old Latin Text-Book* and *Sunshine and Petrarch* reveal the natural bookman. That style of his — light and flexible as a rod of split bamboo — is the style of many of the immortal classics and humanists; and it holds, when the bigger and coarser styles warp and weaken. We speak sometimes of the "charm" of *Cheerful Yesterdays* as if charm were something external and evanescent, but the history of literature is forever reminding us that the charming books have secret qualities which make them often survive the greater books, just as Cleopatra outshines the pyramids.

One likes to think, then, of Colonel Higginson, first as a local figure, to be celebrated by local pieties such as ours tonight. He

was loyal to Cambridge. He wrote poetry about the "Sea Gulls at Fresh Pond"; he was a true "Child of the College." He drank tea, in due ceremonial, with all of us. In his old age he enjoyed the flowers on his birthdays, the tributes from his clubs, the pleasant notices in the *Evening Transcript*. But the negroes who bore his coffin and the aliens in religion and race who have as good an eye as anybody for a Puritan man, knew that Colonel Higginson was far more than a local personage. The tea-drinking coteries cannot keep him. Literature will not surrender him to the kindly memory of his neighbors, to the reformers, or even to the veterans of the great War. Higginson lived and died a man of letters. For the claims of literature he gave up the pulpit; to literature he returned when he resigned from the army; and literature will have the final word to say about him. The stone-built Courthouse is torn down, his description of the attack upon it endures.

No contemporary of any writer can solve what Higginson once called "the equation of fame." That equation contains too many unknown quantities. Lamb's *Essay on Roast Pig*, which has simply a good deal of Charles Lamb in it, is now as sure of immortality, as far as we can see, as Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. At least we can say: Here are a dozen volumes into which Thomas Wentworth Higginson has put a great deal of himself: clear-grained, seasoned, sunbathed stuff. They will outlast our day, and many days.

At the conclusion of Professor Perry's address the meeting was dissolved.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH MEETING

THE TWENTY-FOURTH MEETING of THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held the twenty-third day of January, nineteen hundred and twelve, at eight o'clock in the evening, in Room 9, Emerson Hall, Harvard University.

The President, RICHARD HENRY DANA, presided.

The minutes of the last two meetings were read and approved.

It was voted to amend Article XV to read :

"Article XV. Quorum. At meetings of the Society ten members and at meetings of the Council four members shall constitute a quorum."

President DANA made the following remarks :

THIS meeting is devoted to the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the appointment of Judge Story to the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States by President Jefferson.

In strong contrast to the rush of business to-day, we may note that Judge Story found time, though doing his full work on the bench and writing nine remarkable text-books in thirteen years, to lecture at the Harvard Law School in his spare hours. To-day the judges of the Supreme Court by common consent refuse every outside engagement, even to make a public speech, as all their energies are required in their futile attempts to "catch up" with their overcrowded docket.

In looking over my father's journal on his entering the Law School I find the following: "We were placed in a li-

brary under learned, honorable, and gentlemanly instructors (the chief of whom were Judge Story and Professor Greenleaf) and invited to pursue the study of jurisprudence as a system of philosophy." Other entries in my father's journal show Judge Story's great kindness of heart and his willingness to encourage young law students with appreciation of their efforts and even compliments, a rare thing, at least in those days, in New England.

Judge Story, too, found time for social life. Indeed, in those days in Cambridge and its neighborhood, with Longfellow, Lowell, Oliver Wendell and John Holmes, the Nortons, Charles and George Sumner, Bancroft, Prescott, Sparks, Palfrey, Felton, Ticknor, Everett, Rufus Choate, William Ellery and Edward Tyrrel Channing, Dr. S. G. and Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Mr. and Mrs. James T. Fields, Leonard Woods, Hillard, Judge and Senator Hoar, Henry James, Sr., Motley, Judge Story, and others, they had time to stop one another on the street and to say more than the hurried good-by, which nowadays no one waits for, and to spend long evenings in pleasant talk, and to visit each other frequently.

To-day we have in Cambridge a large number of distinguished persons, a list of whose names would be quite as remarkable as that I have just read you; but the same joviality, the same easy friendship, the same time given to leisurely conversation, seem denied us.

Among the distinguished persons now in Cambridge is Professor Roscoe Pound, holding the Story Professorship of Law in the Harvard Law School, whom I now introduce to you, and from whom you will hear a most interesting address on Judge Story.

Professor ROSCOE POUND of the Harvard Law School then read the following paper :

THE PLACE OF JUDGE STORY IN THE MAKING OF AMERICAN LAW

PERHAPS an apology is due to-day from one who is rash enough to assert that any man can have had a place in the making of any legal system. Lord Campbell, it is true, thought that the history of the holders of the Great Seal was the history of the English constitution and the history of English law. But he would have the modern jurists against him. The historical jurists would tell him that the contents of a legal system are the necessary result of the whole history of a people; that they are no more to be explained by the labors of individuals than is language, and that law has grown up with the people itself as an integral part of its character. The positivists would tell him that social, and hence legal, phenomena follow necessarily from the nature of men and from the nature of their relationships; that men may learn to describe the process by which law comes into being, but may not presume to control it. The head of the most numerous and most active sect among the philosophical jurists would assure him that law is no more made by the individual than is history; that the law-maker is the man of his time, thoroughly saturated with the thoughts of his time, filled with the culture that surrounds him, working with the ideas and conceptions of his time and place, and speaking with words whose meanings were fixed by the sociological process of linguistic development. Finally, the adherents of the economic interpretation, who include distinguished representatives in American legal scholarship, would urge upon him that "all juridical history is economic," that the "underlying causes of most of the changes in the law are really economic," and that rules of law are in fact "established by the self-interest of the dominant class." The individualist who thought of the great juristic personality as free, as a creator, as shaping the course of the judicial and juristic current, rather than as borne along by its resistless movement, has all but disappeared from legal literature.

Happily, at least the extremer forms of the foregoing doctrines

are beginning to give way before a renaissance of juridical idealism. In some measure indications are not lacking that we are about to return to what was sound in eighteenth-century ideas. Not, indeed, that we shall ever hold them again in their old, absolute form. But the mechanical ideas of the historical school and of the positivists, the idea of mills of the gods through which legal systems are slowly weaving, by a course of inevitable and predestined evolution, while men sit by as mere observers, are as obsolete as the equally absolute notions of the school of natural law. No institution is the product of one sole cause. Usually it is the resultant of many causes. One observer will dwell upon this cause and another upon that; but we may be confident, with good reason, that all have been factors of greater or less importance. Certainly in all legal history, the great lawyer has not been the least factor. Try to imagine Roman law without Papinian and Ulpian and Paul. Think of international law without Grotius, of French law without Pothier, of German law without Savigny, of the common law without Coke, of American constitutional law without Marshall. If Coke and Marshall and Savigny were children of their times, they were children who knew how to get their own way! To take but one example, Bacon represented the spirit of the seventeenth century much more than Coke; the Star Chamber and the Court of Requests were modern tribunals, as things went then, while the King's Courts at Westminster were thoroughly medieval. Yet Coke impressed the system of these medieval courts upon us so completely that subsequent times, still constrained to walk therein, are far from content. Maitland, indeed, does not hesitate to attribute to Coke's "masterful, masterless" spirit a controlling part in preventing a reception of Roman law in England. To use his words, "that wonderful Edward Coke was loose. The medieval tradition was more than safe in his hands."

If, then, one may venture to assign to individuals some real place in the making of our legal system, I suppose all would agree that three names stand out before all others, namely, Marshall, Kent, and Story. Probably the only names that one hears joined with these are those of Gibson, Shaw, Ruffin, and, more recently, Doe. But the influence of each of the latter is far less, and, indeed, is to no small extent local. The three first-named affected our legal

system as a whole. Each had a national, if not, since the common law is fast becoming a law of the world, a universal, influence.

Marshall affected the development of our law in but one way, namely, from the bench judicial by decision. Moreover, his work was done substantially in one field, that of public law, though he made that field almost wholly his own. Kent affected the development of the law in three ways: as a judge, by decisions; as a writer, by his institutional treatise that still stands by the side of Blackstone; and as a teacher. Story also affected the development of the law in three ways: as a judge, as a writer, and as a teacher. But his judicial service was longer than Kent's, as a writer he was incomparably more active and prolific than was Kent, and his opportunities as a teacher were far greater. In truth, Story's position in the history of American law is unique. He was a colleague of Marshall in the great days, and he wrote the opinion of the court in some of the cases that made our constitutional law. He survived Marshall fourteen years, and stood for the old court among a newer generation to whom men looked vainly to undo its work. After Kent, he was the pioneer among our great text-writers. And while Kent went no further than an institutional book, the latter was scarcely more than complete when Story began a series of treatises which were to cover the great fields of Conflict of Laws, Constitutional Law, Equity, and Commercial Law, often with the pioneer work in English, and always in such wise as to long furnish the model for those who came after him. Moreover, Kent's lectures at Columbia were a bagatelle compared with Story's service of sixteen years at the head of an established law school, almost a quarter of a century old when he came to preside over it, to which his fame as a judge and as a writer, and his zeal as a teacher, gave an unquestioned primacy. Such an opportunity of judging, writing, and teaching at a critical period in the history of a legal system has fallen to the lot of very few. It is not too much to compare him, in this respect, with the great Roman jurists of the third century, with the great doctors of the revival of Roman law, with Pothier and with Savigny. In our own law perhaps no one but Coke has had an equal opportunity.

Two periods in our legal history require special study by any one who would know Anglo-American law. The first is the

classical common-law period, the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. The other is the period which some day will be regarded as no less classical than the former—the period of legal development in America that came to an end with the Civil War. It is very easy to begin the history of a legal system too far back. Pollock is well warranted in insisting that the history of the common law, for practical purposes, begins at the end of the thirteenth century. For American purposes one might well begin with the seventeenth century. For the common law which we received was Coke's common law. English case law and English legislation prior to Coke were summed up for us and handed down to us by that indefatigable scholar in what we have chosen to consider an authoritative form; and we have looked at them through his spectacles ever since. In like manner the history of the common law in America begins, for practical purposes, after the Revolution, and the century ending with 1876 sees an American common law fully established and beginning to show the rigidity and the dogmatic inflexibility of a settled system.

Law made little progress in America in the seventeenth century. Social and economic conditions were such that a rude administration of justice by magistrates sufficed. With the accumulation of property a demand for law grew up. In the eighteenth century it came to be felt that there must be authoritative standards to restrain or to guide the magistrate. But there was much to hinder the development of law. Luther's maxim, *Juristen böse Christen*, has appealed to the pious ever since; and our fathers had special reasons for suspicion as to the wisdom of receiving English law. Some of them had had experience of the operation of its doctrines as to misdemeanors and of its mode of conducting political and criminal prosecutions, and the memory and tradition of this experience have left their mark upon our law to-day in the doctrine that there is no common law of the United States, in the strange doctrine of the federal Supreme Court as to the rules of evidence in criminal trials in federal courts, and in the unfortunate rejection by most of our States of the common law as to misdemeanors. Perhaps one may understand the attitude of the seventeenth and early eighteenth-century colonists better, if he tries to imagine a colony to-day founded by Mr. Gompers, and to conceive what such

a colony would hold as to the applicability to its condition and situation of American equity. Moreover, the law was backward in England in this period. It was still burdened with the formal thinking and the naïve nominalism of the middle ages, and the archaic formalism of which it was not yet rid was persisting into and becoming merged in the formalism of over-refinement characteristic of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Hence it might well "seem to a plain Puritan to be a dark and knavish business." Perhaps the turning-point is the appointment of Lord Mansfield to be Chief Justice in 1756. But Lord Mansfield's great work of ascertaining and incorporating the law merchant and of liberalizing the common law was going on during the Revolution and was not complete at its close. It is noteworthy that he resigned in the same year in which the Constitution of the United States was adopted. The law worthy of reception and the nation to receive it came into existence at the same time.

In spite of the difficulties recited, law had made some progress in America at the outbreak of the Revolution. There had been a gradual evolution of a judicial system, and in many places there was coming to be a well-trained bar. Doubtless this would have insured a reception and development of the common law. But it happened here, as in seventeenth-century England, that the common law became useful as a political weapon. As Coke had invoked the common law against James I and Charles I, the Continental Congress in 1774 invoked it against George III. Thus a tradition arose that the colonists had brought with them the common law, as a much-prized heritage, and had clung to it and asserted it in the new world. After unquestioned currency for more than half a century, this doctrine has been overturned by study of colonial records and of colonial legislation.

After the Revolution a reaction set in. Economic conditions gave rise to widespread dissatisfaction with law and distrust of lawyers. Political conditions gave rise to distrust of English law. Naturally the public was extremely hostile to England and to all that was English; and it was impossible for the common law to escape the odium of its English origin. Judges and legislators were influenced largely by this popular feeling, and the bar was not strong enough to resist it. In Philadelphia there were a few great

lawyers, and there were good lawyers here and there throughout the country. But except in a few centers of legal culture the bulk of the profession was made up of men who had come from the Revolutionary armies or from the halls of the Continental Congress, and had brought with them many bitter feelings and often but scanty knowledge of the law. Alexander Hamilton's preparation for the bar was four months' reading. His less gifted competitors at the bar who came before the courts with the same hasty preparation could not be expected to have much acquaintance with the principles or doctrines of the common law. But the judges were seldom better prepared, and many of them were laymen. A majority of the justices in New Jersey in 1779 were laymen. Of the three justices of the Superior Court of New Hampshire after independence, one was a theologian and another a physician. Charles Brayton, judge of the highest court of Rhode Island (1814-18), was a blacksmith, and Isaac Wilbour, a farmer, was Chief Justice of that State from 1819 to 1826. The first Chief Justice of North Carolina was admitted to the bar in 1788 before he was twenty years old. Accordingly we are not surprised to find the courts of that day resenting any serious investigation of the English books, and endeavoring to palliate their lack of information by a show of patriotism. There is another side. A few great lawyers stand out in this period. But, the country over, the outlook for law, and especially for English law, was anything but bright. It is not too much to say that in the second decade of the nineteenth century, when Judge Story took his seat upon the bench, the work of receiving and adapting the common law and of developing therefrom a system of American law remained yet to do.

It is to the credit of American lawyers that the development of American law in the critical and formative period went forward rapidly and well. While we think of the period as extending for a century, from the Declaration of Independence to 1876, it was in truth less than three quarters of a century. No progress of consequence was made until the appointment of James Kent to be Chief Justice of New York and of John Marshall to be Chief Justice of the United States, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the period of development was substantially at

an end at the close of the Civil War. Yet the achievements of this period will compare favorably with those of any period of growth and adjustment in legal history. The closest analogy, both in the time taken and the amount and character of the work accomplished is the classical period in England — the age of Coke. The working over of the civil law in France, which culminated in the writings of Pothier and thence in the Civil Code, went on actively for at least a hundred years. From the first draft of a Prussian code, under the auspices of Frederick the Great, to the taking effect of the Civil Code for the German Empire was a century and a half. And if we begin only with the rise of the historical school in Germany and the consequent working over of the old juridical materials, we have still more than a century. But in Germany and in France there was abundant modern material at hand, which had been long studied and thoroughly expounded. On the other hand, when Kent went upon the bench in New York he could say with entire truth that "there were no reports or state precedents. The opinions from the bench were *ore tenus*. We had no law of our own and nobody knew what [the law] was." In 1814 Kent became Chancellor. Of his experience as head of the court of equity he tells us: "It is a curious fact that, for the nine years I was in that office, there was not a single decision, opinion, or dictum of either of my predecessors, . . . from 1777 to 1814, cited to me or even suggested." So completely did American law make a new start at the beginning of the nineteenth century!

We all know the result of seventy-five years of American judiciary. But it is worthy of note that many obstacles were overcome during that period and that very little would have sufficed more than once to turn the current of our law in a wholly different direction. To some extent this is speculation, but I venture to think that our common law encountered and overcame four very real dangers: (1) The danger of a reception of French law; (2) the danger of a debasement of the law through an untrained judiciary in the earlier part of the century and an elective and to some extent political judiciary after 1848; (3) the danger of premature and crude codification during the legislative reform movement; and (4) the danger of loss of unity and of rise of separate local systems, a danger which once more is becoming acute.

As late as 1856 Sir Henry Maine believed that a reception of French or of Roman-French law was taking place in America. In 1871 he reprinted a lecture containing the statement that the French code, as adopted in Louisiana, and not the common law, was becoming the substratum of the law in the newest States. I have never been sure what he had in mind. Possibly the adoption of the Field Codes in California and in the Territory of Dakota may have misled him. At any rate, all danger of a reception of French law was over some time before 1856; but at one time it was a real danger.

One who reads the older American reports, particularly those of the State of New York, cannot fail to notice the unusual number of references to the writers and authorities of the civil law which they contain, and the great deference which appears to be paid to such authorities. No less remarkable is the rapid falling off in this practice and practically complete cessation of it by the middle of the nineteenth century. At present, citation of the authorities of the civil law, except in cases involving some point of international law or of admiralty, is usually the merest pedantry, and is seldom indulged in. When in recent years an American judge does see fit to cite them, he does so in the manner of one who is displaying his learning, and not, as many American judges once did, in the same manner in which he cites common-law authorities.

In the first volume of Johnson's reports, reporting decisions of the Supreme Court of New York and the Court of Errors of New York during the year 1806, Pothier is cited four times, Emerigon five times, Valin three times, Casaregis twice, and Azuni twice. The Institutes of Justinian are cited once. These citations are made by the court. In addition, counsel, so far as their arguments are reported, cite civilians (mostly French) repeatedly. In the seventh volume of the same reports, reporting decisions of the same courts during 1810 and 1811, Pothier is twice cited, Huberus twice, Emerigon once, and the French civil code once. There are also two citations of the Digest, one of the Institutes, and one of the Code. Almost all these citations are in cases involving questions of mercantile law. Occasionally, however, the question at issue is one of conflict of laws, and in one case in the fourth volume of Johnson's Reports, Pothier and Justinian's Institutes

are cited on a question of damages on a covenant for title. There are also in the early New York reports citations of the civil law on questions of original acquisition of title to property, of rights as between owners in common, and of quasi-contract. It is noteworthy, too, that when the movement for reform in common-law pleading and procedure arose, whereas in England it resulted in procedure acts and rules of court, in New York and other American jurisdictions following in her wake, it took the form of pretentious codes of civil procedure and ambitious attempts to produce a civil code along French lines.

The reasons of this temporary influence of French law in America were four: (1) the hostility toward England and English institutions that prevailed in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth century and the feelings of friendship for France on the part of a large portion of the community at the same time; (2) the rise of the law merchant; (3) the influence of Kent and Story, who cited the civil law very freely both in their judicial opinions and in their writings; and (4) the movement for reform in practice and pleading, which created great dissatisfaction with the common law at a time when the effects of the other causes were making themselves felt.

The books are full of illustrations of the hostility toward English law, because it was English, which prevailed early in the nineteenth century. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Kentucky legislated against citation of English decisions in the courts, and there was a rule of court against such citations in New Hampshire. Many a judge in other jurisdictions had his fling at the English authorities cited before him. For example, one judge is reported thus: "They would govern us by the common law of England. Common sense is a much safer guide. . . . It is our duty to do justice between the parties; not by any quirks out of Coke and Blackstone,—books that I never read and never will."

At the same time a large and influential party were enthusiastically attached to France, and not only heartily detested things English but were inclined to look more than favorably upon things French. Kent, who became Chief Justice of New York in 1804, says: "I could put my brethren to rout and carry my point by my mysterious wand of French and civil law. The judges were Re-

publicans and very kindly disposed to everything that was French, and this enabled me, without exciting any alarm or jealousy, to make a fair use of such authorities and thus enrich our commercial law." In another place he says: "English authority did not stand very high in those feverish times." Under such circumstances it is not strange that judges made free use of French authorities to sustain their decisions. But such citation had often a better justification.

The work of incorporating the law merchant into the common law was by no means complete at the time of the Revolution. Lord Mansfield, to whom that result is chiefly, if not entirely, due, was on the bench at that time. But the law which after the Revolution was recognized as "the common law in force at the time of the Revolution," was the common law as it existed before the decisions of Lord Mansfield had settled the principal questions of mercantile law. His decisions and the common-law decisions after his time undoubtedly had a controlling influence in America, as repeated citations of them in Johnson's Reports bear abundant witness. Yet the fact remains that American judges were left more to their own resources in this important department than in any other. Being left largely to their own ideas of what was or should be the law, they naturally looked to the French and Dutch treatises on the civil law and the French treatises on commercial law, and when those treatises conformed to their ideas, cited and approved them. Cases may be found in the reports in which Pothier was cited by counsel, but the court took a different view upon the basis of English decisions.

Fortunately for our common law, the Anglo-American is averse to authorities in a foreign tongue, as the decadence of French authority in Louisiana bears striking witness, and as the profession advanced in strength and learning and prejudice against English books disappeared, the citation of French treatises dwindled and finally vanished. But at the time when passions aroused by war were passing away, another force began to operate both to discredit the common law and to excite interest in French law.

The school of lawyers who regarded the common law as it stood when Blackstone expounded it as the perfection of reason was giving way to a younger generation which was bent on pruning it

of archaisms and reforming it to suit the spirit of a time which looked askance at everything that savored of the Middle Ages. Political and social institutions as well as legal rules and doctrines were being scrutinized critically on all hands, and English law felt this movement no less than English politics. Bentham, it is true, declaimed against all systems of law impartially. But his disciple, Austin, was acquainted with Roman Law and commended its study. It is noteworthy that the revival of the study of Roman law in England dates from the movement for reform in the common law. In America the same force was at work, and it was supplemented by the inclination toward French law already in existence. Then, too, men's minds had been fascinated by the Code Napoléon, and in New York, especially, as far back as 1809 we meet with more or less clamor for a civil code on French lines. In the minds of the reformers the want of formal congruity in the common law was contrasted with the order of the systematic treatises of civil-law writers, and they were led to think and speak far worse of their own system than the substance of either body of law warranted. More or less attempt was made to incorporate doctrines of the civil law in projected codes, and here and there a court professed to adopt doctrines of the civilians on some point instead of the common-law rule. But very few American judges and lawyers who would have liked to make use of the civil law were able to do so effectively. Kent and Story practically stood alone. The translations of Pothier were very far from being complete, and were not accessible until the movement had spent itself, and the American edition of Domat was too late to exert much influence. Hence, on the whole, the effects of this movement were no greater than those of the causes already discussed. Judges admired and sometimes quoted the civilians, but they adhered to the common law.

Thus there were few specific permanent results. Courts cited the civil law to fortify their conclusions. But when their ideas upon new points differed from those of the civilians, they did not hesitate to follow their own. It is clear therefore that they were engaged in building up the common law, not in receiving another system in its place. Yet how came it that the common law was able to withstand this formidable invasion? The answer will be more clear after we have considered the other difficulties which

our legal system encountered in the first half of the nineteenth century. But I may say here that if Kent and Story appeared to further a reception of French law by their copious citations of the civilians, in reality they prevented it by presenting what was in substance sound common law in a systematic, orderly, reasoned fashion which appealed to the bar and to the courts.

The second danger, namely, that the common law would be debased and corrupted through administration by an untrained judiciary at the beginning of the century and by an elective and to some extent political judiciary in the last half of the century, contributed to the first. For unless a vigorous body of doctrine could be developed by our courts, a reception of another system or an eighteenth-century code was by no means improbable in view of the state of public feeling with respect to the law. Such a development under the Anglo-American legal system required strong courts. Continental critics refer to ours as a system of judicial empiricism. For at the basis of our common law is the idea that experience will afford the most satisfactory foundation for standards of action and for rules of decision; the idea that law is not to be made arbitrarily by a fiat of the sovereign will, but is to be discovered by judicial experience of the rules and principles which in the past have accomplished or have failed to accomplish justice. In such a view not merely the interpretation and application of legal rules, but in a large measure the ascertainment of them, must be left to the disciplined reason of the judges, and we must find our assurance that the judges will be governed by reason, and that the personality of the individual judge will be kept down in the criticism of the reported decision by bench and bar in the discussion of other causes. Moreover, the strength of the common law is in its treatment of concrete controversies as the strength of the civil law is in its logical development of abstract conceptions. In a comparison of abstract systems the common law is at its worst. On the other hand, wherever the administration of justice is in the hands of common-law judges their habit of applying to the cause in hand the judicial experience of the past rather than attempting to fit the cause into its exact logical pigeon-hole in an abstract system has gradually prevailed, and has made for slow but persistent invasion of territories once governed by the civil law. Such

a process requires strong judges or else it requires that the judges be well guided. Unhappily many jurisdictions had not much more than emerged from the period of lay judges when in 1848 New York took the decisive step of making the judiciary elective. For a time the character of the bench was not greatly changed. But taking the country as a whole, the ultimate result was unfortunate. It is significant that the great names in the American judiciary are almost without exception to be found upon the federal bench or in the earlier courts. The one judge upon the bench of a state court who stands out as a builder of the law since the Civil War, Chief Justice Doe of New Hampshire, held his position by appointment.

Along with the change in the character of the judiciary came a period of legislation and a demand for codification. The latter had been heard indeed in the eighteenth century. In 1774 John Adams said: "How then do we New Englanders derive our laws? I say not from Parliament, not from the common law; but from the law of nature and the compact made with the king in our charter." After the Revolution Jefferson insisted that the colonists had brought with them, not the common law, but the rights of man and the law of nature. Such ideas were dominant upon the Continent of Europe at that time, and the publicists, with whose writings the framers of our constitution were so familiar, were full of them. The jurists of the eighteenth century conceived it to be their task to discover the first principles of law inherent in nature, to deduce a system from them, and thus to furnish the legislator a model code, the judge a touchstone of sound law, and the citizen an infallible guide to conduct. They had no doubt that a complete code was possible which once for all should provide in advance the one right decision for every possible controversy. Lay discussions of American law in the first quarter of the nineteenth century abound in demands for an American code. Had such men as Kent and Story allowed their good sense to be overcome by the Continental philosophers of law of the eighteenth century, whom they undoubtedly admired, the future of American law might have been very different. I doubt if our judges would have been strong enough to withstand the movement. But when the movement did gather strength in the draft codes of David Dudley Field the

common law was thoroughly received and well established and was able to resist it.

Had our law been without unity, had there been a local law for each State, the movement for a premature Benthamite code might well have swept the country as the French codes swept over Europe. To-day, indeed, to use Maitland's phrase, the unity of the common law is precarious. But our jurisdictions have gone too long a way together to draw far apart. Even the huge volume of legislation which is poured forth by our State legislatures is restrained and is brought into some sort of order by a settled common law. Had this flood of statutes been turned upon a system of purely local rules such as we might well have had in the first half of the last century, if not before, at least by now, we should be seeking relief in codes. The attempt of the Supreme Court of the United States to preserve unity by its doctrine as to questions of general law failed wholly. But the same force that preserved the common law from the dangers last discussed preserved it here also. What Story the judge failed in, Story the text-writer accomplished triumphantly. For, more than anything else, the books of our great nineteenth-century text-writers saved the common law. Here were guides for judge and practitioner well written, learned, well ordered, and, as things went then, well reasoned. With copious references to the civil law which seemed to make it clear that the resources of comparative law had been exhausted, they stated none the less the common law as worked out in the English courts. Thus at the crucial time the common law was so presented as to make the reception easy, and the energies of judges were turned to the right channel of applying common-law principles to concrete cases. Until our case law was able to stand by itself such aid was indispensable. Without it I doubt if we should live under the common law to-day. As Coke summed up the development prior to his time and thus furnished the basis for a juristic new start, so these text-writers summed up English case law of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and made it available as the basis of a new start in America.

Of the text-writers who accomplished this task of receiving the common law in America two are pre-eminent, Kent and Story, and

Story's work is easily first in quantity and upon the whole in quality. The bare list of his writings speaks for itself:

Commentaries on the Law of Bailments, 1832, nine editions.

Commentaries on the Constitution, 1833, five editions, also translated into French.

Conflict of Laws, 1834, eight editions.

Equity Jurisprudence, 1836, thirteen American editions, two English editions.

Equity Pleading, 1838, ten editions.

Commentaries on the Law of Agency, 1839, nine editions.

The Law of Partnership, 1841, seven editions.

Bills of Exchange, 1843, four editions and a German translation.

Promissory Notes, 1845, seven editions.

In quantity, in timeliness, and in its relation to the law that went before and came after, this body of legal writing is in many ways comparable to that of Coke. In each case the judge-made law of the past was restated and was made conveniently and, as it were, authoritatively available for the future. If in each case there is much to criticise in the details of the performance, the answer is, after all, that this body of writing must be judged as a whole and must be appraised by its results. So judged, it must be counted one of the controlling factors in the shaping of American law. Moreover, Story's writings may deceive the casual reader by the apparent weight which is given to the authorities of the civil law. Great as is the use which he seems to make of them, it is in fact almost wholly by way of reinforcement or illustration or example. Where he goes further, as, for instance, in his treatise on bailments, he has had little permanent effect. In substance his books are treatises upon the common law. Moreover, their relation to the civil law happily is to that part of the law where the Romans were at their best and where the common law was least developed.

The genius of the Roman jurists expended itself upon what may be called in a wide sense the law of contractual obligations — upon that part of the law that has to do with recognizing and giving effect to the intention of the parties to legal transactions to create rights and duties, that has to do with the intention implicit in such transactions and the rights and duties annexed by law to the rela-

tions to which they give rise. On the other hand, the Roman law of delict was governed to the end by archaic conceptions. I think we may rate it a great bit of good fortune, therefore, that neither Kent nor Story tried his hand at the law of torts. Here neither Roman nor civilian had anything for us, and to introduce their specious nomenclature as was done in Scotland could only have bred confusion. Happily judicial empiricism was left free to deal with the details of this subject, and it was left to the twentieth century to work out a theory. The side of the law which called for immediate development when Kent and Story wrote was the very side where help from Roman law was needed; the side upon which Roman law had made an enduring contribution.

Three other points deserve brief notice. Taking them in the order of publication, Story's books upon the Constitution, upon conflict of laws and upon equity have had special influence. If Marshall made our public law, until Professor Thayer caused us to think for ourselves in this connection, to the bench and bar Story authoritatively expounded it. The influence of his book is to be traced through Cooley into nearly all the texts of the last part of the nineteenth century, and for one point he seems to have established the legal tradition as to the colonists and the common law. His treatise upon the conflict of laws is even more important. Dicey says of it that it "forthwith systematized, one might almost say, created a whole branch of the law of England." Professor Gray is no doubt right in saying that the book is Story's "highest claim to reputation as a jurist." But the most important service, it seems to me, was rendered by his writings on equity.

Essential as it is to the working of the Anglo-American system, equity has never been popular in America. To name but one cause the Puritan has always been a consistent and thorough-going opponent. Equity runs counter to all his ideas. It relieves fools who have made bad bargains; and he objects to this, holding that fools should be allowed and required to act freely and then be held for the consequences of their folly. What is even more objectionable to him, it acts directly upon the person. It coerces the individual free will. It acts preventively instead of permitting free action and imposing after the event the penalty contracted for in advance. Again it involves discretion in its application to con-

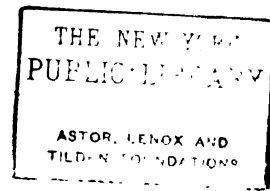
crete cases, and that in the Puritan view means superiority in a magistrate in that it allows him to judge another by a personal standard instead of by an unyielding and universal legal rule. Accordingly there was vigorous opposition to the court of chancery in England lasting almost to the eighteenth century. Barebone's Parliament abolished the court of chancery. Massachusetts and Pennsylvania granted equity powers to their courts grudgingly by a process of piecemeal legislation. American state courts have been reluctant to extend the jurisdiction of equity even where the extension involved no more than application of familiar principles to new conditions of fact. The gradual abandonment of equity powers and legalizing of equitable principles in America which I have ventured on another occasion to call a decadence of equity is no less significant. The methods and doctrines of equity have not been congenial to our tribunals, and if we remember that the latter have largely been manned with Puritans the reason is obvious.

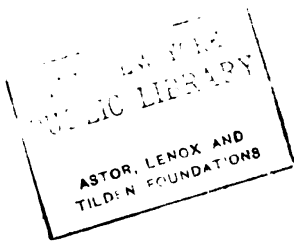
Had it happened, then, that equity was expounded to American readers by an unfriendly commentator or in the dry and technical fashion of the contemporary English treatises, I venture to think the result would have been most unhappy. As it was, Kent upon the bench and Story in his treatises developed and expounded the subject in quite another way. Kent's was the greater juristic achievement, but I am not certain that we do not owe more to Story. A sympathetic exposition of English equity, referring continually to the civilians and to the Roman law, making it appear, untruly as we know now, that English equity was essentially Roman law and was a body of universal principles of justice, often comparing the development of the principles in England with that upon the Continent to the disadvantage of the latter, and all this in a most readable form, with an orderly arrangement and a system that at least improved upon what had gone before, was the one thing needed to commend equity to our American courts and to counteract the forces that were working against it. One has but to consider what our administration of justice would be if the majority of our States had been compelled to resort to the shifts and devices to which the courts of Pennsylvania were driven for want of equity jurisdiction to perceive the magnitude of the service rendered by such a book. Story seems to have understood

the importance of equity in our system from the first, for we find him joining in a petition for the establishment of a court of chancery in Massachusetts at a time when this Commonwealth was persistently hostile to the whole system.

If, as we are told, taught law is tough law, the vitality of the common law is due in large part to this, that it has been taught almost from the beginning. There are other and more important causes of the vitality which is making it, if it is not such already, a law of the world. But its vitality in the critical period of legal development in nineteenth-century America is due chiefly to this — that it was the only system that was or could be taught to the *juventus cupida legem* with the books at hand in school or office. That it could be so taught and in a way to command enthusiastic adherents is due, above all, to the writings of James Kent and Joseph Story. If Marshall made our public law, they in almost equal measure made our private law in that they assured that it should develop along common-law lines, that it should develop by judicial rather than by legislative empiricism. What the latter would mean the New York code of civil procedure warns us abundantly.

At the conclusion of Professor Pound's paper the meeting was dissolved.





THE TWENTY-FIFTH MEETING

THE TWENTY-FIFTH MEETING of THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held on the twenty-third day of April, nineteen hundred and twelve, at eight o'clock in the evening, in Room J, Emerson Hall, Harvard University.

The President, RICHARD HENRY DANA, presided.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

For the first topic of the meeting LEWIS M. HASTINGS read the following paper:

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF SOME BRIDGES OVER THE CHARLES RIVER

INTRODUCTION.

IN the making of that curious thing which is sometimes called the "social life" of a community, that which makes one community individualistic and different from some other community, there is no doubt that its environment, or physical surroundings, exercises an important influence. Much has been written and said in the past about the social life of Cambridge as affected by the literary and culture side of it; very much more has been written about the religious side of it, — comparatively little about the physical or geographical side of it. Yet there is no doubt that the physical situation of this community as related to soil, climate, scenery, access to other centers of trade, culture, or learning has had an important bearing on the activity and character of its social life. In this brief paper it is only proposed to glance at one phase of this subject, — the history of some of its bridges, the construction of which from time to time has been the efficient means of establishing close and enduring relations with the great outside world.

An examination of the map of the vicinity will show at once how isolated and provincial the situation of Cambridge originally was; surrounded by water on the greater part of three sides, the problem of free and convenient intercourse with other communities has been from the first a difficult and expensive one.

It was a problem which was early recognized and with surprising quickness grappled with by the founders of the town. It is really surprising to find that so soon after the determination to found a town here was made, while yet the conditions of living were so hard and the future so uncertain, before even houses could have been constructed in adequate fashion, steps were taken to secure better means of communication with neighboring settlements.

Thus we find the Deputy Governor of the Colony, Thomas Dudley, writing that "after divers meetings at Boston, Roxbury and Watertown, on the twenty-eighth day of December (1630) we grew to this resolution, to bind all the assistants (Mr. Endicott and Mr. Sharpe excepted, which last proposeth to return by the next ship to England) to build houses at a place a mile East from Watertown near Charles River the next Spring, and to Winter the next year."

On June 14, 1631, only six months after the resolution above referred to was made, it is recorded that "Mr. John Maisters hath undertaken to make a passage from Charles River to the New Town, twelve foot broad, and seven foot deep for which the Court promiseth him satisfaction, according as the charges shall amount unto." On the 5th of July, 1631, it was "ordered that there shall be levied out of the several plantations, the sum of thirty pounds for the making of the creek at New Town." This canal or creek was located on the westerly side of what was for many years known as "College Wharf" at the foot of Dunster Street, and was in part a natural creek, enlarged and extended along the southerly and westerly side of South and Eliot Streets, crossing Brattle Street to the town spring.

This creek or passage was probably used as a convenience in loading boats for transporting goods and passengers, and is of special interest as it later led to the establishment and formed a part of a regular ferry across the Charles River at this point.

FERRIES.

The first public ferry across the river seems to have been established in 1631 between Charlestown and Copps Hill in Boston. In 1633 the second ferry was established in Watertown, when Richard Browne — one of three of that name in Watertown who seem to have been active in the early town affairs — was authorized to operate a ferry for passengers from a point near "Sweet Auburn Woods," now Mount Auburn, in Watertown to "Little Cambridge," now the Brighton district of Boston formerly called "Brighton Corner."

The order of the Court reads: "Richard Browne is allowed by the Court to keep a ferry over Charles River against his house and is to have two pence for every single person he so transports and one penny apiece if there be two or more." His house was located just a little east of Mount Auburn Cemetery, where he owned seven acres of upland and two and one half acres of marsh.

Shortly after this ferry was in operation the third ferry was established in connection with the creek above referred to in Cambridge, from what is now the foot of Dunster Street to the southerly bank of "Little Cambridge," or Brighton. Under date of December 7, 1635, it was "ordered, — that there shall be a sufficient bridge made down to low water mark on this side the River and a broad ladder (set up) on the farther side the River for convenience of landing, and Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Danforth and Mr. Cook to see it made."

January 6, 1635-6, it was "ordered that Mr. Joseph Cook shall keep the ferry and have a penny over and a half a penny on Lecture days." From this it would appear that the price of ferrying in Cambridge was but one half that in Watertown, — a seemingly unfair discrimination in freight and passenger rates according to present laws! It was from the southerly terminus of this ferry that the old "highway to Roxbury" began, leading to Boston, as indicated by the old milestone now standing in the Cemetery at the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Garden Street marked "Boston 7 m. A. I." this last meaning Andrew Ireson, surveyor.

MILL BRIDGE, WATERTOWN.

It is claimed that the first mill established in this country was located in Watertown just above what is now called the Galen Street bridge, its dam forming the limit to salt-water navigation from below. This mill privilege, after being operated for nearly three centuries, is now abandoned and the site is occupied as a park.

At this point also was constructed, in 1648, the first horse bridge ever built in the country. This was called the "Mill Bridge," or "Great Bridge." It took the place of a foot bridge built there in 1641, which for some years had been a toll bridge.

Owing to the lack of means and the crude methods employed in its construction, the "Mill Bridge" was constantly out of repair and was rebuilt in 1667 and again in 1681, and finally was destroyed in 1694. Much controversy followed, the town of Watertown being reluctant to be at the continual expense of maintaining the bridge so generally used, and in 1714 it petitioned the county to be a party to its rebuilding with accommodation for carriages.

This was done, and the bridge was rebuilt in 1716 as a county convenience. It is now maintained by the town of Watertown, and the old wooden structure is now replaced by a very handsome stone and concrete arch bridge.

THE "GREAT BRIDGE" AT BOYLSTON STREET.

The transportation facilities, then, for the inhabitants of Cambridge and adjoining towns from their settlement to the year 1662, required the shipment of goods and passengers by ferry across Charles River either from Cambridge to Brighton, thence along the circuitous route by Roxbury and over the "Neck" to Boston, a distance of about seven and one half miles, or, leaving Harvard Square and passing along "the way to Charlestown," now Kirkland Street, and thence by ferry from Charlestown to Copp's Hill in Boston, a distance of about four miles. One very great drawback to this means of transportation was that horses could not be ferried over the river, as the boats then in use were not large enough for horses.

Agitation for a bridge across the river in Cambridge to eliminate the inconvenience and danger of a ferry began in 1656, when the town voted to "pay 200 pounds towards the building of a bridge across Charles River upon condition the same may be effected without further charge to the Town." Nothing was done about it, however, until February 4, 1660, when the town "again considered and debated" the question whether "200 pounds should be levied on the inhabitants of this town; the vote passed on the affirmative."

The bridge was completed before March, 1663, and was called the "Great Bridge."

It would seem that the two hundred pounds voted by the town did not represent the entire cost of the bridge, for on October 12, 1670 the records of the General Court state that—

"Whereas the bridge on Charles River which was first erected at the cost of the town, *together with the free contributions of several public spirited persons in some neighbor town*,—which bridge being now decayed and by reason of the danger is presented to the County of Middlesex,—and the Town of Cambridge being not able to repair it, so that of necessity it must be pulled up and slighted, and the passage there secured by a ferry, as heretofore, which is not so safe, convenient or useful as a bridge, for a ferry is altogether useless in Winter, and very inconvenient to transport horses and not at all accommodable for carts or droves of cattle."

To encourage the erection and maintenance of this bridge it was then made a toll bridge with fixed toll rates. The collection of tolls on the bridge seems not to have continued long, for the expense of its maintenance was ordered, in 1688, to be borne three-sixths by the County of Middlesex, two-sixths by Cambridge, and one-sixth by "Cambridge Village," now called Newton, then a newly incorporated town. In the same way Lexington when incorporated, in 1713, and West Cambridge or Arlington in 1807 were required to share in the expense of maintenance of the bridge. In 1733, the bridge having been very thoroughly and effectually repaired, after a large portion of it had been washed away by the ice, the General Court granted to the towns of Cambridge, Newton, and Lexington three hundred pounds, and the following year (1734)

granted the three towns three thousand acres of unappropriated lands of the Province, "to enable them forever hereafter at their own cost, and charge to keep, amend and repair the Great Bridge over Charles River in Cambridge."

This continued until 1862, when the General Court authorized and required the city of Cambridge and the town of Brighton to rebuild the Great Bridge, the expense to be borne "in proportion to the respective valuations of the city and town," and thereafter each municipality should maintain its half at his own expense.

This financial history is interesting, as it shows that for many years the obligation of adjacent communities using a bridge to contribute toward its maintenance was early recognized and enforced. An effort to apply this same principle in the payment of the cost of construction of the new Cambridge Bridge was unsuccessfully made at the time when the Act authorizing its construction was passed.

The bridge built in 1663 was swept away by a flood in 1685, and before it was rebuilt in 1690 resort to a ferry was necessary. It was probably at this time of rebuilding, 1690, that piles were first used in its construction, the old piers or supports being cribs of logs filled with stones and sunk in the river; on these piers wooden logs, sometimes split or sawed in two, were laid, spanning the openings. Much difficulty was had in driving the piles at this time, as only hand power could then be furnished in raising the weight or driver. It was said that five thousand blows were required on some of the piles to drive them to a firm bearing. In 1733 the bridge was again carried away by ice and was rebuilt by the proceeds of the sale of town lands held by Cambridge. It was again rebuilt in 1862 by the city of Cambridge and the town of Brighton. Plans are now being prepared by the Engineer of the metropolitan Park Commission for a new bridge upon this ancient site of the first bridge in Cambridge.

CHARLES RIVER BRIDGE, BOSTON.

The next important bridge to be constructed was the "Charles River Bridge" from Charlestown to Copps Hill, Boston. This bridge was built by a private corporation in 1786 and supplanted the old ferry in use there since 1631. It was 1503 feet long and

43 feet wide, and was completed in seven months from the date of its commencement, — a noteworthy feat for that time. Tolls were established, being doubled on Sunday. One rather curious provision of the charter was the old stipulation that the proprietors should pay annually two hundred pounds to Harvard College. This was because the old ferry established in 1631 was granted to Harvard College on condition that the revenue should be used "to defray the tuition of indigent students." The opening of the bridge was marked by a great and famous celebration, at which it is stated more than twenty thousand persons were present. This bridge proved a paying investment from the first, and it is said that by 1826 owners of original shares had received back principal and interest, and a surplus of \$7000 per share.

WARREN BRIDGE, BOSTON.

A companion bridge to the last-mentioned was the "Warren Bridge," which was built in 1828, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the proprietors of the "Charles River Bridge" and the Charlestown authorities. The tolls on these two bridges were maintained until 1835, when they were abolished on both simultaneously, and they remained free until 1854, when, extensive repairs being needed and funds being short, tolls were again established until the repair fund amounted to \$100,000, since which time they have been free.

The present Charlestown Bridge, built of steel on stone piers in 1900, takes the place of both these old wooden pile bridges.

WEST BOSTON BRIDGE.

As Cambridge and the adjoining towns grew in population, the necessity for better facilities for reaching Boston became more and more apparent. As early as 1738 certain Cambridge citizens applied for liberty to establish a ferry between Cambridge and Boston direct; also, a petition for liberty to construct a bridge from "Col. Phips Farm," now East Cambridge, to Boston. In 1785 another petition to the same effect was presented. No action resulted

from any of these petitions. The success of the Charles River Bridge, above referred to, built in 1786, stimulated continued effort, however, and in 1792 a petition was presented to the General Court, and on March 9, 1792, Francis Dana and associates were incorporated as "The Proprietors of the West Boston Bridge" with authority to construct the bridge from the "Westerly part of Boston to Pelham's Island in the Town of Cambridge" with "a good road from Pelham's Island aforesaid in the most direct and practicable line to the nearest part of the Cambridge Road." It was to be a toll bridge, of which three hundred pounds were to be paid annually to Harvard College (this was afterwards reduced to two hundred pounds) for the purpose of defraying "the tuition of indigent scholars." The bridge was built in 1793 and was 3483 feet long and 40 feet wide. Where the causeway crossed a little creek at the present junction of Main, Harvard, and Sixth Streets a bridge about 275 feet long was built called "The Little Bridge." The causeway itself was 3344 feet long. The abutment on the Boston end was $87\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, making the total length of the structure 7189 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

The bridge was built in seven and one-half months; the piles were of pine and driven by hand power. The first cost of the entire structure was twenty-three thousand pounds. The contractor was a Mr. Whitney, while Mungo Mackey and Henry Prentiss were superintendents for the proprietors. The piles of pine wood did not prove durable, and as fast as possible were superseded by oak piles. The bridge was completed in November, 1793, being open for travel November 23, 1793. The "Chronicle" for November 27, 1793, says: "The bridge at West Boston was opened on Saturday last for passengers. The bridge for length, elegance and grandeur is not exceeded by any in the United States if in any part of the World."

The "Columbian Centinel" of the same date says: "The elegance of its workmanship and the magnitude of the undertaking are perhaps unequalled in the history of enterprises." The bridge remained in charge of the Proprietors of the West Boston Bridge until 1846, when it was sold to the "Hancock Free Bridge Corporation," who in turn, on February 1, 1858, conveyed it, together with the canal or "Craigie Bridge," to the City of Cambridge "as

a free bridge forever." The opening of these as free bridges after so many years of toll paying was an event of great importance to the citizens. The event was celebrated in an enthusiastic manner by decorations, a monster procession one and a half miles long, fireworks, and general rejoicing. The doings at the meetings of the Proprietors of the West Boston Bridge, at the "Bunch of Grapes Tavern on State Street," and at the "Coffee House" are recorded in detail, and in the quaint manner of the time, in the books of the Corporation, now, in the custody of the City Clerk at City Hall, Cambridge.

That the promoters of this bridge had great faith in the future development of Cambridge and were not relying on the population then existing is clear, for the eastern portion of Cambridge, where the bridge and causeway were constructed, was then almost uninhabited. The Rev. Dr. Abiel Holmes is quoted by Mr. Paige as saying, in 1814, that in 1793, when the bridge was opened, from the home of Chief Justice Francis Dana (on Dana Street) easterly, there were but *four dwelling houses then built* — "one on the Inman Place now belonging to Jonathan L. Austin, Esq.; one nearly opposite on a farm of Judge Dana, formerly the Soden Farm, south of the main road; one on the Phips farm, lately owned by Mr. Andrew Bordman; and one at Lechmere Point."

While this was the condition of things at the time of the completion of the bridge, active steps were taken to attract business and travel by a number of men, Rufus Davenport, Royal Makepeace, Josiah Mason, Daniel Mason, Andrew Bordman, and others, by laying out an ambitious scheme of docks and canals by which the town was to be a port of entry (hence the name "Cambridgeport"), and also several long avenues or turnpikes leading towards the bridge, — Concord Avenue, Hampshire Street, Broadway, and Webster Avenue were so laid out.

This bridge as built in 1793 was considerably modified in the more than a century of its existence. In 1854 it was rebuilt and widened to 50 feet, and 750 feet at its westerly end and 60 feet at its easterly end were filled solid. An interesting fact in connection with this bridge is that the first street railway built in New England passed over it. The tracks of the Cambridge Street Railway Company, first running from West Cedar Street to Har-

vard Square, were opened for travel across the bridge and causeway on March 26, 1856. In 1900 it was entirely removed and the present imposing "Cambridge Bridge" took its place. The story of the construction of this bridge, while interesting, is so recent as to be familiar to most Cambridge residents and so will not be recorded here. Suffice it to say that the construction of the bridge was begun in 1900 under the charge of the Cambridge Bridge Commission and was completed in 1907 at a cost of about \$3,300,000.

CRAIGIE OR CANAL BRIDGE.

After the completion of the West Boston Bridge attention was again directed to the abandoned project of a ferry or bridge from Lechmere Point now East Cambridge to Boston. The successful carrying out of the plan to construct a bridge at this point seems to have been largely due to the persistence and energy of one man, Mr. Andrew Craigie, for whom the bridge was named. The story of his tireless efforts and scheming against the opposition of men whose interests were inimical to his is an interesting one, but too long to recite here in detail. It is quite fully told by Mr. Paige in his "History of Cambridge."

The Act of incorporation under which the canal or Craigie Bridge was built was passed February 27, 1807. It provided that "the shares may be held, one third by individual proprietors of the Middlesex Canal Corporation, one third by the individual proprietors of the Newburyport Turnpike Corporation and one third by Andrew Craigie and his Associates."

The bridge was completed and opened for travel in August, 1809. Tolls were to be collected for seventy years. In connection with the construction of this bridge Mr. Craigie and Associates were incorporated as the "Lechmere Point Corporation" to develop and sell land on "Lechmere Point," now called East Cambridge, out of which they evidently profited handsomely. It is stated by Mr. Paige that the first cost of the entire property held by Mr. Craigie was not over \$20,000, while it was capitalized after the construction of the bridge for \$360,000. Mr. Craigie was also instrumental in consummating, after much litigation and contention, the important public improvements of the laying out of Cambridge

Street in a straight line from near the bridge to Harvard Square and also the laying out of Bridge Street leading to Somerville and Medford.

In 1846 the bridge was sold to the Hancock Free Bridge Corporation, and in 1858 this and the West Boston Bridge were made free bridges, as already related in the account of West Boston Bridge.

It is stated that the total amount of tolls collected on the two bridges, the Craigie and the West Boston Bridge, from 1793 to 1858 was upwards of \$2,000,000. The bridge continued in the joint care of Cambridge and Boston until its entire removal in 1910, when it was replaced by a solid embankment at "Charles River Dam," as a part of the Metropolitan Park System.

PRISON POINT BRIDGE.

Little seems to be known of the early history of Prison Point Bridge. In 1806 a charter was granted to the Proprietors of the "Prison Point Dam Corporation" to build a dam from Prison Point in Charlestown to Lechmere Point in Cambridge, also to rent mills. No dams or mills were erected then, but in 1815 (according to Mr. Paige) the bridge was built for the benefit of Canal Bridge. It was laid out as a County Road in January, 1839.

RIVER STREET BRIDGE.

On March 2, 1808, Jonathan L. Austin and others were incorporated for the purpose of building River Street and the River Street Bridge over Charles River. The bridge was completed in 1810. Until 1832 it was maintained by the Proprietors, when the town assumed its care and made it a free bridge.

WESTERN AVENUE BRIDGE.

In 1824 the Mill Dam Corporation of Boston secured a charter to build a turnpike over the "Mill Dam" and through Brighton to Watertown. This gave travel from that locality a shorter route to Boston than by the West Boston Bridge, and threatened to reduce the revenue of the West Boston Bridge Corporation. The Proprietors were jealous of their own interests, and thereupon se-

cured an Act granting authority to build a turnpike and bridges from Cambridge to Brighton and from Brighton to Watertown June 12, 1824, and Western Avenue was built, together with the two bridges. These bridges were maintained by the Proprietors as toll bridges until they sold their whole franchise to the Hancock Free Bridge Corporation in 1846. The Western Avenue Bridge and highway were laid out as a public highway December 22, 1855.

BROOKLINE STREET BRIDGE.

Still another body of men were instrumental in constructing the Brookline Street Bridge. By an Act passed April 25, 1850, Sidney Willard, Edmund T. Hastings, Columbus Tyler, David R. Griggs, and others were empowered to erect a pile bridge over Charles River near the end of what is now Brookline Street and to collect certain rates of tolls for a period of fifty years. This bridge was built in 1851, and it was laid out as a public highway by an Act of the Legislature approved April 13, 1869. Tolls were abolished and its maintenance assumed by the city of Cambridge and the town of Brookline. This bridge was rebuilt at a high elevation in 1906, and the grade crossing over the tracks of the Grand Junction branch of the Boston and Albany Railroad on the Boston side abolished.

HARVARD BRIDGE.

The story of the construction of the Harvard Bridge is too recent to require rehearsal in detail here. For many years efforts were made by Cambridge citizens to secure the construction of a bridge to be located between the West Boston and Brookline Street bridges, which were about two miles apart. For many years the city of Boston declined to join with Cambridge in the construction of this bridge. In 1887, however, an Act authorizing the construction of the bridge was passed, and the bridge was constructed under the charge of three commissioners. The bridge is 2165 feet long and 70 feet wide and cost about \$525,000. It was opened for travel September, 1891.

The influence of the construction and opening of this bridge and its connecting avenues upon the development and social life of the

city has been important and far-reaching. It was the principal factor in the filling in and so rendering available for use the enormous area of flats and lowlands between the Boston and Albany Branch Railroad and the river. Without it the location of the new Institute of Technology in Cambridge would have been unthought of.

It has become the most popular of the lines of communication between this city and the city of Boston, leading directly to the great retail trade districts and also to the great centers of culture and art on the Back Bay.

Such is the brief story of some of the most important facts relating to the bridges in which Cambridge is interested.

The material growth of the city in the nearly three centuries of its life is fairly well typified in the character and cost of the bridges which serve its needs; the modest expenditure of the two hundred pounds representing the beginnings, and the latest expenditure of over \$3,000,000 representing the culmination of its civic life.

Reference is here made to sources from which valuable data were obtained in preparing this paper:

History of Cambridge, Lucius R. Paige.

Early History of Watertown, Henry Bond, M.D.

Annual Report of the City Engineer of Cambridge, 1872.

Annual Report of the Bridge Commission, Cambridge, 1892.

Boston Transcript, September 20, 1889. "Bridges over the Tidal Charles."

Report of the Cambridge Bridge Commission, 1909.

Records of Proprietors, West Boston Bridge Corporation.

For the second topic of the meeting the Secretary read the following paper by WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE:

THE BUILDING OF HOLWORTHY HALL

THE close of the present College term completes a full hundred years during which Holworthy Hall has been occupied by successive generations of College students. This fact is worth remember-

ing, since the erection of the Hall in 1811-12 marks the beginning of a new epoch in the development of the College Yard. Previous to this time the College had faced to the west, looking over the Cambridge Common; it had turned its back upon what is now the Yard. The three oldest buildings — Harvard, built in 1672-82; the first Stoughton, built in 1699; and Massachusetts Hall, erected in 1720 — formed three sides of a square which opened to the west. With the single addition of Holden Chapel, built in 1744, these three buildings constituted the whole College from 1720 to 1763. In 1763 Hollis Hall was built in line with Stoughton, and formed, with Harvard and Holden, three sides of another square facing to the west. Its western face was its front, and behind it, in the present Yard, were wood-houses, the brew-house, and other out-buildings. Old Stoughton Hall, which had been in constant need of repair and which could not have been substantially built in the first place, was finally taken down in 1780, and its removal made possible a different plan for the future development of the group of College buildings. The next new dormitory to be erected — the present Stoughton, built in 1803 — took the name of that which had been torn down, so that the memory of old Lieutenant-Governor William Stoughton, who had built the original hall, should not be lost. It was placed on a line with Hollis, and extended the group still farther to the north. Like Hollis, it faced the west.

In 1811, another new dormitory being needed, it was voted in the first place (January 14, 1811) "that the Corporation will proceed to erect a new College for the habitation of students on the site of old Stoughton Hall," and Mr. Lowell and Mr. Loammi Baldwin were appointed a committee to make necessary contracts and superintend the erection of the building. If this plan had been carried out, it would have effectually blocked the development of the present College Yard, and would have left no opportunity for later growth, except by stretching out the line of buildings to the south toward the site of the old Meeting House (near the spot where Dane Hall now stands). Fortunately better counsels prevailed, and a plan was adopted which looked forward far into the future. On March 11, 1811, Mr. Baldwin presented a plan for the new College, and it was voted "that the Committee appointed to contract for the erection of the new College be requested to cause

the same to be erected to the eastward of new Stoughton and extending its front southerly, nearly East and West, and that the same be built upon the principles of the plan exhibited by Mr. L. Baldwin, with single rooms in the front, and two studies in the rear, and to form the North side of a quadrangle which, when completed, may be nearly equilateral."

Loammi Baldwin, who apparently drew the plans for the new building, had taken his bachelor's degree in 1800. He entered the law at first, but his real taste was for engineering, and he later became a civil engineer of some distinction. As a young man he was employed on the Middlesex Canal, in later life he completed the Boston Mill-dam and built the dry-docks at Charlestown and Norfolk.

The money with which to build the new hall was not derived from the Holworthy Bequest received many years before, as might be inferred from the name, but came from the proceeds of a lottery, which had been authorized by act of the Legislature March 14, 1806, and the successive classes of which had been put on sale from time to time, as had been found expedient. The treasurer's books show that the lottery produced about \$29,000, of which sum \$24,500 was spent on Holworthy Hall. This was a not unusual way of raising money for public purposes, and no ill opinion was attached to it at that time. Stoughton Hall had been built in like manner, by a lottery authorized in 1794. Many interesting references to these lotteries and to the manner of selling tickets and drawing prizes are to be found in the Boston newspapers of the time. Several of them are quoted in the Transactions of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, vol. xiii, pp. 155-159.

On May 14, 1812, we find it stated in the Corporation Records, "that the rent of the rooms in Holworthy Hall be \$26. per year, and that they be assigned to the students by the Immediate Government at their discretion, whenever the Committee for superintending the erection of the College shall declare it ready for their occupation." On June 17th the Corporation voted that \$500 be allowed Loammi Baldwin, Esq., for his services in planning and superintending the building of Holworthy Hall. At the end of the College year the building was ready to be occupied, and on August 18, 1812, a week before Commencement, which fell that year on

August 26th, the building was formally opened. There is no account of just what the ceremonies were, but the address made by the President on the occasion, as given at length in the College Records, was as follows:

ANNUNCIATION OF THE ENTRANCE INTO HOLWORTHY HALL

AUGUST 18TH 1812.

In compliance with the vote of the Corporation I take the occasion to congratulate the friends, patrons and members of the College on the erection of a new Hall or College for the habitation of Students and to announce the name, which it has been thought proper it should receive. We have no doubt that you observe with great pleasure another commodious and ornamental Edifice added to our establishment. We acknowledge the goodwill of the Legislature which empowered the Corporation to receive the funds for the expensive design and have been happy in the attention, credit and respectability of the Gentlemen who have undertaken to secure to us the benefit of the legislative grant and enable us to accomplish the object without any encroachment on the stated funds of the Institution.

The completion of the work within little more than a year from the commencement of preparation, the plan and the execution, the elegant simplicity and pleasing appearance of the building evince our obligations to the Committee of superintendence; and we mention with great satisfaction the praise due to the builders for the neatness and fidelity of their work, and the activity and perseverance which they have manifested in bringing it so near to a conclusion. We desire to notice the favour of Providence in the exemption of all the persons employed from any unfortunate accident. In selecting a Name, it was thought desirable to associate with the Structure the memory of some distinguished Benefactor, whose name might not have been connected with any part of the University establishment; "*Antiquam exquisite matrem.*" This designation is eminently applicable to Sir Matthew Holworthy of Great Britain, one of the earliest and most generous patrons of our Society. He died in 1678, leaving a bequest to the general objects of the College exceeding that of any individual from the foundation to the time of Mr. Hollis, larger than that of Mr. Harvard; and a Sum which if given now in proportion to the scale of estimating property would go far towards erecting the present building. We have little information of the History or Character of this Gentleman. We have evidence that he was

one of the generous spirits who are interested in human nature and human happiness wherever found. He extended his solicitude to our Society then obscure and little considered by the world and capable of adding little to the reputation of its benefactors, and contributed a Bounty which did much to rear it to a manly strength.

It is a suitable act of Justice, and expression of Gratitude to commemorate our friend and fathers' friend; to endeavour to expiate the neglect which may be thought chargeable upon our predecessors towards the memory of an early supporter, by joining his name to this comely edifice. May Holworthy College contain successive bands of Youths, who shall know how to prize and improve the advantages which the wise and good of distant periods and regions have successively augmented, who shall be examples of the happy influence of godly discipline, who shall form friendships with each other, cemented by virtue, and make acquisitions in science and literature consecrated by piety and applied under the guidance of the best principles and go forth into the world, the excellency of our strength and the joy of our Glory.

Holworthy immediately took its place as the most desirable of the College buildings, and its large, square rooms, each with two bedrooms, and occupying the whole width of the building from north to south, have always made it a favorite. One early evidence of this is a petition, to be found in the College Papers, signed by resident graduates at the time, and requesting that, in the assignment of College rooms, such graduates should have the preference over undergraduates, and that the rooms in the east entry of Holworthy should be assigned to them. For several years before this, graduates had been accommodated in the College House, where they say they have had the "advantage of occupying them singly, but," they add, "we have found the inconvenience much greater than we anticipated. The disadvantages attendant on the local situation of that building, and particularly its contiguity to the street, without specifying several others of minor importance, are very considerable, and we are now desirous of changing our situation." Among the reasons which they present for having the Holworthy rooms assigned to them is one which they consider "not altogether unworthy of notice, that the rooms occupied by graduates will be kept in better repair, as they will not be so liable to be defaced." "Another reason may be sug-

gested, if it be an object with the Heads of the University to encourage the residence of graduates, — that the assignment of the first rooms to them will be a strong inducement for them to remain; & as it respects ourselves, we are perfectly willing to pay the same compensation for the use of such rooms, as would be assessed upon undergraduates. There is something degrading in the idea, nor would a student, who was desirous of pursuing his studies at College, as a graduate, consent, without reluctance, to return & occupy, for three or four years more, the inferior room, which he occupied in his freshman or sophomore year. In fine, we can conceive of no reason, so long as graduates are permitted *any* rooms within the walls of College, why undergraduates should be entitled to the preference in the assignment."

It would seem that the name chosen for the Hall, which to us, from long use and pleasant associations, seems euphonious, was not so considered at the time, and there is in the College files a letter from President Kirkland, addressed to the Treasurer, Judge Davis, in which he says:

"I find some gentlemen are sorry to have our new college receive so hard a name — *Holworthy Hall* — has two aspirates beside the *w* & the *th* — which twist & squeeze the organs not a little. Is there any other better or more suitable — or will you reconsider on account of this objection — which is of some consequence."

A word should be added in regard to Sir Matthew Holworthy, for whom the Hall is named. The detailed presentation of the few facts known in regard to him, as derived from contemporary documents, will be found in an article by Albert Matthews in the *Transactions of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, vol. xiii, pp. 153–180. His father was Richard Holworthy, a merchant of Bristol, at one time sheriff, mayor of the city in 1634–35, alderman in 1637, and a member of the Soapmakers' Company. His son, Matthew, was born in 1608, was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, and received his Bachelor's degree there in 1629. He was sent by his father into France, where he became a merchant, and was, for a time at least, in Marseilles, but returned to England after his father's death. He was three times married: first, in 1652, to Mary, daughter of Robert Henley; second, in 1664, to

Lucy Jervoice; and third, in 1669, to Susanna Henley, daughter of Henry Henley, a cousin of the Robert Henley mentioned above. He was knighted May 12, 1665, and died in the fall of 1678, being buried in the Church of St. John, Hackney. Lady Holworthy was buried in the same church May 2, 1690. In Sir Matthew's will, dated May 9, 1677, he bequeaths "unto the Colledge or university in or of Cambridge in New England the summe of one Thousand pounds to be paid and made over to the Governors and directors thereof to be disposed of by them as they shall judge best for promoting of learning and promulgation of the Gospell in those parts. The same to be paid within Two yeares next coming after my decease." What first interested him in the struggling college beyond the seas is not known, but it is a fact that a few years before, the College being in serious straits and in a declining condition, an agent had been sent over to England to solicit help and that several substantial gifts had been received. One of the first of these was a gift, in 1669, of £27 from Henry Henley, of Lyme Regis, in Dorsetshire, who, Mr. Albert Matthews has shown, was a brother of Sir Matthew's third wife, Susanna Henley. Almost at the same time with the Holworthy bequest came the bequest of Theophilus Gale, philologist, philosopher, and theologian, who, dying in 1677, left his valuable library of scholarly books to the College and soon after, in 1682, followed the gift from Sir John Maynard of eight chests of books valued at £400. It is interesting to notice that the Holworthy and Gale bequests and the gift of books from Maynard were received while the building which stood on the present site of Harvard Hall was in process of erection (1672-82). Our only representation of it is in Burgis's view of 1726.

The portraits of Sir Matthew and Lady Holworthy, which have lately come into the possession of the College, were painted by Sir Peter Lely. They had come down into the hands of Herbert Fleetwood Holworthy, Esq., of Bury St. Edmunds, who consented to part with them, since they were to come into the possession of the College, of which Sir Matthew was the largest benefactor in the seventeenth century. They were given to the College by J. Pierpont Morgan Jr., of the Class of 1889, and Edward F. Whitney, of the Class of 1871.

For the third topic of the meeting WILLIAM E. STONE read the following paper:

A PETITION OF DR. DANIEL STONE, MARCH 4,
1672/3, AND SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS FAMILY
AND ANCESTORS

SOME time ago I obtained at a sale of manuscripts at Libbie's Auction Rooms a petition of Dr. Daniel Stone to the Court of Assistants at Boston which, although it has no direct bearing on the history of Cambridge, is interesting as being written by one of the earliest inhabitants of Cambridge and one of its earliest physicians. The petition is as follows:

The humble petition of Daniell Stone to this honrd Court of Assistants now Assembled at Boston

March 4th 1672/3

This honerd Court may please to remind that about 14^{moth} since ther ware many french men suffered shipwrack upon our Coaste amongst w^{ch} ther wer eight escaped & brought hither greatly frozen & almost naked. The Authority toke care for ther accomidation & appoynted me the managment therof (viz) for ther lodging washing diett clothing cueer & after cueer ther transportation to ther severall homs & to deffray the charge therof, wth yo^r hone^rs promise I shold be Reimbursed. Which is p^r me accomplished & paied longe since before I had effects elc I had ben sued longe ere now. I have disbursed 40 pound & more in cash beside ther cueer, my time and charge about them being grate for the space of 12 or 13 weeks 7 or 8 hourrs in a day myself & servant with large expence of wine & brandy, by Rason of grat mortification sume [suffered] the lose of all ther toes & part of ther feet, w^{ch} expence was instrumentall under god to presarve ther lives & the Resedue of ther lims. they ware soundly cued & sent by y^r honers order hom to the grat honere & credit of the cuntry. But I remaine yet unpaid haveing Rec^d but forty pounds of the honerd Cuntry Treseur. these are therfor humbly to implore the favor of this honrd court that I may be releved & paied. My bill is with the Court the totall being 70 pounds 7 shillings. If yo^r honers demand the Receaits of the severall payments they are Redy. I beege pardon for my bouldness & subscribe myselfe y^r honers humble sarvant & poor petetioner

DANIELL STONE

7 September 1672

In Ans' to this petition the Court Judgeth it meete to order the Tresurer in ffull sattisfaction of the petitioners bill to pay him twenty pounds more in mony

By the Court

EDW RAWSON, Secrty

I note in this petition certain peculiarities of spelling which would seem to be an indication of some of the ways of pronunciation of our English ancestors of those times. "Servant" is spelled "sarvant"; "preserve" is "presarve"; "reason" is "rason"; "receipts" is "recaits"; "were" is "ware," and "shipwreck" is "shipwrack." I take it that those were the ordinary pronunciations of the time.

This Dr. Daniel Stone the petitioner, was a son of Deacon Gregory Stone of Cambridge, and as a good deal of information about Gregory Stone and his family has come to light since the publication of Paige's History of Cambridge, it may be worth while to add to Paige's account of Gregory Stone and his family what has since been learned about his English home and ancestors.

Gregory Stone came from England in 1635 with his brother Simon Stone of Watertown, and we now know that they were both born at Great Bromley, or, as it was formerly called, *Much* Bromley, in Essex County, England. The Parish Registers of Great Bromley contain the following records:

Feby. 9, 1585-6, was baptized Simond Stone, son of Davie Stone & Ursly his wife

April 19, 1592 was baptized Gregorie Stone, son of David Stone

and August 5, 1616, is recorded the marriage of Symond Stone and Joan Clarke.

David Stone, the father of Simon and Gregory, was the son of Symond and Agnes Stone of Much Bromley, and is named in his father's will, dated July 28, 1558. Up to this point the ancestry of Simon and Gregory is beyond question; but it is almost equally certain that this Symond Stone of Much Bromley, the grandfather of Simon and Gregory, was the grandson, through an eldest son David, of a still earlier Symond Stone of Much Bromley, whose will is dated May 12, 1506, and was probated February 10, 1510. Much,

or Great Bromley, the home of so many generations of the ancestors of our Gregory Stone of Cambridge, is five miles east of Colchester, the principal city of Essex County, and fifty-eight miles from London. A few years ago some of the American descendants of Simon and Gregory Stone united in erecting a beautiful memorial window in the ancient church of Great Bromley with this inscription: "To the Glory of God and to the memory of Simon and Gregory Stone, Brothers, who were born in this Parish, baptized in this Church, and emigrated to Massachusetts in New England in 1635, this window is erected by American descendants."

Simon Stone, the elder of the two brothers, married at Great Bromley, in 1616, Joan Clarke, as noted above. He removed to Boxted, Essex County, between 1621 and 1624, and resided there until he emigrated to America in 1635. Gregory Stone removed from Great Bromley to Nayland, Suffolk County, some time before 1617, in which year he married there Margaret Garrad, daughter of Thomas and Christian Garrad of Nayland. The following extracts from the Parish Register of Nayland give his marriage and the birth of all of his children:

1617, Julie The 20 daiewer married Gregory Stonne and Margaret Garrad
 1618, July. The last daie was bapt. John, sonne of Gregory Stonne
 1620, August. The 15 day was bap. Daniel ye sonne of Gregory Stone
 1622, Septem: 22 was bapt David ye sonne of Gregorie Stone
 1624, October 3. was bap. Elizabeth, the daughter of Gregory Stone

Then follows the death of his wife and daughter:

1626 Aug: 4 was buried Margrett, the wife of Gregory Stone
 " " 6 was buried Elizabeth the daughter of Gregory Stone

The deaths so near together of the mother and daughter make it seem probable that they died from one of the epidemics so common at that time.

About two years after the death of his first wife, Gregory Stone married as his second wife the widow Lydia Cooper, who came here to Cambridge with him and who formerly was supposed to be the mother of all his children. The record of this marriage has not been discovered, as far as I know, but from other sources it is known beyond much question that she was from Dedham in



CHURCH AT CERNÉ

of so many generations of the family and the miles of the road from the old house in Essex County, and fifty years ago, when some of the American people were still struggling to establish a better government, a monument of Great Bradley was raised to the memory of those who were born in this Parish and who came to Massachusetts in November, 1621, the first of the American descendants of the two brothers, mentioned above. The monument, between 1621 and 1624, and which was erected in America in 1635. Gregory Stoughton, of Nayland, Suffolk County, some time before he came there Margaret Garrison of Nayland. The daughter of Nayland give his name to the children:

1. He was married Gregory Stoughton and Margaret Garrison. Their son was Capt. John, sonne of Gregory Stoughton. His son was Capt. Daniel ye sonne of Gregory Stoughton. His son was Capt. David ye sonne of Gregory Stoughton. His daughter was Capt. Elizabeth, the daughter of Gregory Stoughton.

He follows the death of his wife and daughter:

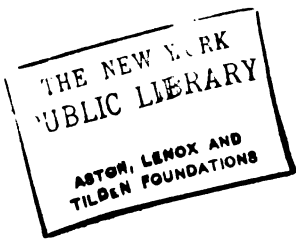
1. On Aug 4 was buried Margrett, the wife of Gregory Stoughton. 2. On Aug 16 was buried Elizabeth the daughter of Gregory Stoughton.

He follows together of the mother and date of the death of his wife and daughter they died from one of the epidemic of the time.

Two years after the death of his first wife, Gregory Stoughton was his second wife the widow Lydia Cooper, of Cambridge with him and who formerly was suffering from all his children. The record of this marriage is not recorded, as far as I know, but from other records it is beyond much question that she was from the



CHURCH AT GREAT BROMLEY



Essex and that she was the widow of Simon Cooper of that place. Dedham and Nayland are both on the river Stour and are only a few miles apart. By his second wife, Lydia Cooper, Gregory Stone had the following children, recorded at Nayland:

- 1628 March 6 was bap Elizabethe the daug: of Gregorie Stone
1630 February 4 daie was bapt. Samuell sonne of Gregory Stone
1632 Feby. 8 was bap Sarah daughter of Gregory Stonne

So of the six children who came to New England with Gregory Stone three, John, Daniel, and David, were by his first wife Margaret Garrad, and three, Elizabeth, Samuel, and Sarah, were by his second wife, Lydia Cooper.

Although Boxted, the English home of Simon Stone, is in Essex, and Nayland, the home of Gregory, is in Suffolk, the two towns are really adjoining, being separated only by the river Stour, which is the boundary line between the two counties. Boxted and Nayland are five or six miles north of Colchester and about nine miles from Great Bromley, where Simon and Gregory were born. Nayland is also only six miles from Groton, the English home of Governor John Winthrop, and that there had been some kind of business transactions between Governor Winthrop and Gregory Stone is shown in a letter written by Governor Winthrop from here in 1630 to his son John at Groton in England, in which he says, "Demand of Stone and Bragge of Nayland £15. you have bond for it." The Stone here named was Gregory Stone, as the Parish Records of Nayland show that there was no other Stone living there at that time.

It was from these eastern counties of England — the East Anglia of Saxon times — that a large proportion of the earliest settlers of New England came. A glance at the map of this part of England will show whence very many of the old New England towns derived their names. Within the radius of a few miles from Nayland and Boxted we find the towns of Dedham, Sudbury, Groton, Braintree, Haverhill, Ipswich, Harwich, Yarmouth, Malden, Waltham, Wrentham, Needham, Framingham, Chelmsford, Colchester, Danbury; farther north in Lincolnshire, Boston; and near by in the adjoining counties, Cambridge and Hertford. Hertford was the birthplace of the Rev. Samuel Stone, another of our earliest Cam-

Simon Stone was formerly erroneously supposed to have been a native of Dedham, Essex. As a matter of fact he was the son of a householder of Hertford, who married a daughter of the Essex family of Stones, though the connection was not maintained. The Rev. Samuel Stone was called to the ministry in 1635, like so many of the early Puritan ministers of the New England Churches with whom he was connected. After living here three years he received a call to the ministry at Dedham, and it was in his honor that the Connecticut Colony was named after the English birthplace.

Simon Stone was born at the River Stour, where Nayland and Dedham are in the county of the English artist Constable. He was born at Nayland, near St. Felix, near by Nayland an hour's drive from London. Constable's pictures and his landscapes are scenes in the neighborhood of Dedham. He has written "those scenes made me a painter." Nayland was the scene of his two paintings, "Dedham" and "Dedham from the Church." The National Gallery in London. Over the door of the church at Nayland where Gregory Stone was buried, is a half-length painting of Constable, which was painted by Constable and presented to the church by himself. The artist Gambourgh is also a native of the same locality. He was born at Sudbury in Suffolk, a few miles up the river from Nayland, and passed the whole of his life there.

Simon and Gregory Stone left their English homes and came to New England in 1635. The names of Simon Stone and his family are in the List of Emigrants sailing from London in the "Increase" in April, 1635, and Gregory and his family undertook the same ship, although his name does not appear in the existing list, which are now very incomplete, those that were actually lost or destroyed in course of years having been greatly damaged by lack of care and dampness. It is very unlikely that two brothers living so near together in the old country and who appeared here together at the same time should have made the journey in different vessels. It is significant, too, that among the passengers by the "Increase" was at least one other man from Nayland—Thomas Parrish—who settled here in Cambridge and was Gregory Stone's nearest neighbor on Garden Street. The names of both



CHURCH AT NAYLAND

bridge settlers, who was formerly erroneously supposed to be a brother of Deacon Gregory Stone. As a matter of fact he was the son of John Stone, a householder of Hertford, who may have belonged to the nearby Essex family of Stones, though the connection has not thus far been traced. The Rev. Samuel Stone was educated at Cambridge University, like so many of the early Puritan divines, and came here to the New England Cambridge with the Rev. Thomas Hooker. After living here three years he removed to Hartford, Connecticut, and it was in his honor that the Connecticut town was named for his English birthplace.

The beautiful valley of the River Stour, where Nayland and Boxted lie, is the country of the English artist Constable. He was born at East Bergholt in Suffolk, near by Nayland and across the river from Dedham, and practically all his landscapes are scenes in the vicinity. He himself has written "those scenes made me a painter." Many of you will recall his two paintings, "Dedham" and "Dedham Vale," in the National Gallery in London. Over the altar of the fine old church of St. Stevens at Nayland where Gregory Stone was married and used to worship, is a half-length painting of Christ, an altar-piece which was painted by Constable and presented to the church by the artist himself. The artist Gainsborough is also associated with this same locality. He was born at Sudbury in Suffolk, a few miles up the river from Nayland, and passed the early years of his life there.

Simon and Gregory Stone left their English homes and came to New England in 1685. The names of Simon Stone and his family appear in the List of Emigrants sailing from London in the ship "Increase" in April, 1685, and Gregory and his family undoubtedly came in the same ship, although his name does not appear in the existing Lists, which are now very incomplete, those that were not actually lost or destroyed in course of years having been greatly damaged by lack of care and dampness. It is very unlikely that two brothers living so near together in the old country and who appeared here together at the same time should have made the journey in different vessels. It is significant, too, that among the passengers by the "Increase" was at least one other man from Nayland — Thomas Parrish — who settled here in Cambridge and was Gregory Stone's nearest neighbor on Garden Street. The names of both



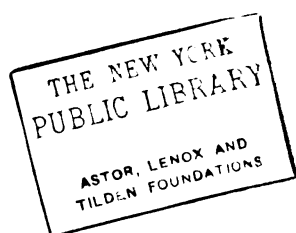
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

and it was in
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drawn by the artist himself. The artist Gainsborough
started with this same locality. He was born in
1693, a few miles up the river from Nayland, and
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Thomas French — who settled here in Cambridge
Stone's nearest neighbor on Garden Street. The



CHURCH AT NAYLAND



Simon and Gregory Stone are on the list of Townsmen of Watertown, February 28, 1636, but while Simon remained in Watertown, Gregory very early moved to Cambridge; and as in England the two brothers lived near together although in different counties, so here their homes were only about a mile apart, although one was located in Watertown and the other in Cambridge. The home of Simon was on the river at Mount Auburn, and that of Gregory about where the Harvard Observatory now stands. Gregory Stone lived in Cambridge to a good old age, dying November 30, 1672, at the age of eighty years. He was a deacon of the Cambridge church and the last survivor of its original members. He was buried in the old cemetery near Harvard Square. The original headstone of his grave has disappeared and been replaced by a modern stone, but the original footstone is still in place marked with his initials G. S.

John Stone, the eldest son of Deacon Gregory, early in life settled in that part of Sudbury which afterwards became Framingham. He married Anne How, whom he must have known as a child in the old country, for she was a daughter of Elder Edward How of Watertown, who, like Simon Stone, came from Boxted. After the death of his father he moved back to Cambridge and occupied the homestead and lived there the rest of his life. He had been a deacon of the Sudbury church and was chosen Ruling Elder of the church of Cambridge. He died May 5, 1682, aged sixty-four, and is buried beside his father in the Old Cambridge Burying Ground. His gravestones are still in perfect preservation.

Daniel Stone, the second son of Deacon Gregory Stone, was the writer of the petition you have just heard. He was a physician, or "Chirurgeon" as he is called in the old records. He lived in Cambridge at the corner of Dunster and Mount Auburn Streets, and about 1657 moved to Boston. On the ship "Increase," which brought to this country Daniel Stone with his father Gregory, was a Simon Eire, Chirurgeon, who, like Simon and Gregory, settled first in Watertown, but in 1645 moved to Boston, where he practiced his profession till his death in 1658. Now it seems to me very probable that it was with this Dr. Simon Eire, living in Watertown not far from his father's home, that Daniel Stone studied medicine, and what makes it more probable is that Dr. Daniel Stone moved to Boston from Cambridge just about the time of the death of Dr.

Fire. I think there is little doubt that he succeeded to the practice in Boston of the physician with whom he had formerly been a student of medicine. Dr. Daniel Stone seems to have become a prominent and influential citizen of Boston. We learn from Judge Sewall's Diary that he was one of a council chosen from the three churches of Boston to try charges brought against their pastor by the congregation of the Rev. Thomas Chiever Jr. of Malden. Judge Sewall, Adam Winthrop, Increase Mather, and Cotton Mather were among other members of the same council. He died in March, 1686, 7. His death is not recorded in the existing Boston Records but Judge Sewall mentions it in his Diary. Under date of Sunday, March 29, 1686, 7, he writes, "Dr. Stone and Abraham Busby dye." Dr. Stone left no male descendants, as his only son, Daniel, died in Boston at the age of fourteen years. He left three daughters, all married: Mary Walker, Sarah Edwards, and Abigail Keech, whom he appointed executrixes of his will, and he named as Overseers to assist them "my loving friends, Mr. Adam Winthrop, Mr. John Clarke and Mr. Timothy Prout." His children were all born in Cambridge except one daughter, Mehitable, who was born in Boston in 1658, but the birth of this child cost the life of the mother, who died seven days later. The child also probably died young, as she was not living when the father made his will. I do not know the maiden name of Mary, the wife of Dr. Daniel Stone. Paige's History of Cambridge says he married about 1643 Mary, widow of Richard Ward and daughter of John Moore of Sudbury, but this is a palpable error. The Daniel Stone who married the widow Mary Ward was the nephew of Dr. Daniel Stone and the son of his brother Elder John Stone of Cambridge.

David and Samuel, the other two sons of Deacon Gregory Stone, inherited his lands at Cambridge Farms, now Lexington and Lincoln. Samuel, like his brother John, was a deacon of the church and is several times mentioned in Sewall's Diary. He married a daughter of Israel Stearns of Watertown, whom he must have known from childhood in England, for she too came with her father from Nayland in Essex.

When Gregory Stone married the widow Lydia Cooper, she brought into his family two young children by her first husband, John and Lydia Cooper. They grew up with his own children and came

with him to Cambridge. They seem to have always been treated as his own children, and they were generously remembered in his will. John Cooper, too, became a deacon of the church here in Cambridge. He was for thirty-eight years one of the Selectmen and for thirteen years Town Clerk.

The Parish Register of Dedham in Essex, England, shows the baptism, March 14, 1618, of John Cooper, son of Simon Cooper. This is unquestionably our John Cooper of Cambridge, and here we find one more instance of one of our first settlers seeking a wife from among the companions of his childhood in Old England, for he married Anne Sparhawk, the daughter of Deacon Nathaniel Sparhawk of Cambridge, and she, like himself, was born and spent her early years in Dedham, England. Sarah Stone, the youngest daughter of Deacon Gregory and half sister of Deacon John Cooper, and Mary Cooper, the daughter of Deacon John Cooper, married brothers, sons of Joseph Merriam, Sr. of Concord. Sarah Stone married in 1653 Joseph Merriam, Jr., and Mary Cooper married in 1663 John Merriam, a younger brother of Joseph, Jr.

Deacon John Cooper built in Linnaean Street, near the home of his step-father Gregory Stone, the house now known as the Cooper-Austin house, the oldest house now standing in Cambridge, in the preservation of which, as a historic landmark, the members of this Society have shown such an active interest.

For the last topic of the meeting OSCAR F. ALLEN read the following paper :

JOHN TAYLOR GILMAN NICHOLS, M.D.

1859-1911

DR. NICHOLS was born in Portland, Maine, August 11, 1837.

He was the eldest son of George Henry Nichols, M.D., who was also born in Portland, August 26, 1814. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1838 and received the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the University of Pennsylvania in 1836. He died in Boston, February 5, 1890.

His mother was Sarah Atherton, daughter of Colonel Abel Willard Atherton of Lancaster, Massachusetts, and Margaret his

wife, the young widow of Lieutenant George W. Duncan, U. S. Army, and daughter of Major Lemuel Weeks of Portland. Colonel Atherton entered Harvard College at the age of eighteen, of which college his father, Dr. Israel Atherton of Lancaster, was a graduate, but illness prevented the completion of his course. He received his military title for services rendered in the War of 1812 in the defense of Portland. He engaged in the West India trade and died at the age of forty-four in the prime of life from yellow fever contracted on board one of his ships that had come from an infected port. He was descended from James Atherton, the immigrant ancestor, who came from England in 1625 and first settled in Dorchester, Massachusetts. He died in Sherburne, Massachusetts, in 1710.

Soon after the birth of his son, Dr. Nichols, Senior, removed to Standish, Maine, where for over twenty years he had a large but isolated practice, in which he developed both originality and skill that in a large city, among his equals, would have placed him in the foremost ranks of his profession. Here, in one of the most beautiful and picturesque of New England villages, his son John passed his boyhood days. There was an excellent Academy, promoted largely by his father's efforts, who was foremost in everything pertaining to the welfare of the people among whom he had cast his lot. Here, his son—guided by a wise mother, a woman of rare refinement, whose influence he felt throughout his life—acquired not only his early education but the foundation of mental and physical strength that carried him through a long and useful life. He also acquired an ardent love of nature in all her varying aspects, from the beautiful landscape and wonderful coloring of sunrise and sunset, of which his early home gave an extended view, to the depths and solitude of the forest where he loved to wander, and after he grew to manhood and the cares and responsibilities of his profession were heavy upon him, a sail down the harbor, a tramp in the woods, or a day of hunting or fishing was the recreation he enjoyed.

On August 9, 1900, Dr. and Mrs. Nichols attended the first observance of "Old Home Day" in Standish. After a tribute to his father and mother, Dr. Nichols said: "I cannot find words to express the pleasure it gives me to meet here some who, after

these many years, still remember them with affection and respect. My own memories are those of childhood and youth. To-day they come to me so vividly that I wonder if I am not in my second childhood. They are very pleasant ones — a happy home, warm friends, the simple pleasures of a country boyhood — never to be forgotten while memory lasts. It is indeed good to be here, and I thank this Association for giving me the opportunity to greet old friends and to express my love for my old home."

After Dr. Nichols became settled in Cambridge, his father, with other children to educate, removed from Standish to Boston, where he continued to practice his profession and where he also took an active part in public affairs. For many years he served on committees of the public schools and was also a member of various charitable organizations and, for fourteen years, superintendent of the Sunday-school of the Church of the Unity. He was a man of varied attainments, a ready and eloquent speaker, graceful and gracious in manner, and one of the handsomest men of his day. On October 10, 1886, he and his wife celebrated their golden wedding at the home of their son in Cambridge, and the remains of both now rest in his family lot at Mount Auburn.

Having decided upon his profession, Dr. Nichols entered the Harvard Medical School, from which he received his degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1859. He also attended lectures and took a special course of study at the Lawrence Scientific School. He studied directly and in a most personal way under Dr. Jeffries Wyman, Dr. Morrill Wyman, Dr. John Ware, and Professor Josiah Cooke, whose virtues he never ceased to extol, and who next to his home life he felt exerted the greatest influence upon his character. He studied anatomy under Dr. Jeffries Wyman in what is now Holden Chapel, and the opportunities under that most famous man were unexcelled. He also had the good fortune to be a student under Dr. Morrill Wyman, who made practical, in a most forceful way, the many lessons in the class-room.

At a meeting held in Dr. Wyman's memory by the Cambridge Medical Improvement Society, March 3, 1903, Dr. Nichols paid the following tribute:

"It has been said that the qualities which mark the good physician are learning, sagacity, humanity, and probity. All who knew him well

say that Dr. Wyman bore these marks. For nearly fifty years I was in close association with him as a student and a fellow practitioner. It was for a few years only that he found time to give instruction to medical students. Those who were so fortunate as to have this privilege placed him in the front ranks of teachers of medicine."

Dr. Nichols' grandfather, Rev. Ichabod Nichols, D.D., a distinguished clergyman and scholar, a graduate of Harvard and for fifty years pastor of the First Parish Church in Portland, which was his first and only settlement, had removed to Cambridge, and in his home his grandson had the advantage of meeting the most prominent and cultured people of the famous College town. Rev. Dr. Nichols had married, for his second wife, Martha Storrow Higginson of Boston, whose family connections were numerous and prominent, and this added much to the rare advantages of the home. This environment had much to do in forming the young man's character and stimulating his ambition. His father was also a man of broad culture and a most remarkable memory, and during his long and tedious drives in the country he had accustomed himself to repeat both prose and poetry from the best authors, modern and classical, and his son inherited much of the same taste and from his earliest youth had acquired the love of good reading. With all these family associations, it was but natural that he should select Cambridge as the field in which to practice his chosen profession.

Upon finishing his course at the Medical School, his thesis upon "The Nature and Treatment of Diabetes" was one of those selected to be read at the graduating exercises.

After a short term at the Hospital at Rainsford Island, where he had a most unusual and interesting experience with smallpox, he opened his first office in Cambridge, in the historic Wadsworth house, in the summer of 1859. It was a position both central and attractive. He was self-supporting from the beginning and early secured the confidence of a large practice.

Soon after he had established himself the Civil War broke out, when he, with other Cambridge physicians, at once offered his services. June 1, 1862, he was appointed Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. A., at Camp Day, and discharged November 1st of the same year. On May 16, 1864, he was appointed Sergeant of the Twelfth

Unattached Company, Mass. Vol. Infantry, stationed at Provincetown, and mustered out on Boston Common August 15, 1864.

The officers of this company were Charles F. Walcott, Capt., Charles F. Foster, 1st Lieut., Nathan G. Gooch, 2d Lieut., and the sergeants were Alpheus Hyatt, Charles W. Sever, John T. G. Nichols, Daniel T. S. Leland, and Benjamin Vaughan. For many years Dr. Nichols was a member of John A. Logan Post 186, G. A. R.

Among his fellow physicians at this time were Morrill Wyman, Henry P. Walcott, Charles H. Allen, Francis H. Brown, Moses Clarke, Charles F. Foster, Anson Hooker, Henry O. Marcy, Anson P. Hooker, James R. Morse, John B. Taylor, A. C. Webber, W. W. Wellington, F. Winsor, and S. W. Driver, the latter his close friend and neighbor during his life. The fee for an ordinary visit was \$1.25; night visits from ten o'clock until sunrise \$2.

With over thirty thousand inhabitants Cambridge at this time had no hospital for her indigent sick. The Massachusetts General Hospital had but few available free beds. In the spring of 1867 Miss Emily Parsons secured a house suitable for the purpose and started the first Cambridge Hospital. Her efforts met with Dr. Nichols' most hearty assistance, and during the first year he and Dr. Charles Vaughan visited the hospital daily in alternate months, both of whom, with Dr. S. Cabot of Boston and others, were mentioned with gratitude in the first annual report. Dr. Nichols continued as medical visitor as long as this hospital was in existence.

On October 2, 1867, Dr. Nichols married Helen Williams, daughter of John Taylor Gilman, M.D., of Portland, Maine, and Helen Augusta, his wife, daughter of Hon. Reuel Williams and Sarah (Cony) Williams of Augusta, Maine, and upon returning from their wedding journey to the grandeurs of the Adirondacks, they went at once to their own home at No. 63 Brattle Street, on the corner of Appian Way, where they continued to reside during the doctor's life. Here were born their four children, Henry Atherton Nichols, May 27, 1869; Helen Gilman Nichols, March 31, 1872; John Taylor Gilman Nichols, October 12, 1877; Edward Gilman Nichols, May 12, 1881. And here too came their first sorrow in the death of their little Edward, December 28, 1882; and on Sunday morning, September 22, 1907, upon the same day

of the week upon which she was born, they met with the unspeakable loss of their only and most beloved daughter, Helen, who was the joy and comfort of their declining years. She was a young woman of rare beauty and strength of character, unselfish, and devoted not only in her own home but wherever good and noble deeds were to be done. From this sorrow the doctor never fully recovered, and it marked the beginning of his gradual decline.

His marriage was an ideal one, and it is not out of place to pay a tribute to the devoted and faithful wife, who shared not alone his joys and sorrows but the anxieties and responsibilities of his profession, and who followed his cases with earnest solicitude, cheering him in times of anxiety and rejoicing in his success.

In his home he was genial, hospitable, and unselfish, the companion of his children and their never failing friend. He shared their pleasures and helped them through all their difficulties. He was generous to all who were bound to him by kindred ties and ever ready to respond to public calls for aid in any worthy cause.

He had a singularly sympathetic, tender heart, a smile of rare sweetness, a nature hopeful and cheering, yet, where a wrong was to be righted or a stand for reform to be taken in affairs concerning the health or wellbeing of his town or community, he was strong and unyielding, even if he incurred personal offense or enmity.

The parents of Mrs. Nichols were of distinguished lineage, Dr. Gilman having been one of the most prominent physicians of the State of Maine. Like his son-in-law John Taylor Gilman Nichols, he derived his name from John Taylor Gilman of Exeter, New Hampshire, for fourteen consecutive years Governor of the State, whose daughter Dorothea married Rev. Dr. Ichabod Nichols and was the paternal grandmother of young Dr. Nichols. From Governor Gilman and his brother Nathaniel, who also held many important positions in the State, both traced their ancestry to the same source, the first Edward Gilman, who came from Hingham, England, to Boston in the ship "Diligent," August 10, 1638, down through his son, Councillor John Gilman, Judge Nicholas Gilman, Colonel Daniel Gilman, Colonel Nicholas Gilman, to the Governor and his brother, one of whom married a daughter, the other a granddaughter of General Nathaniel Folsom of Exeter, who had a most distinguished record and was made Major-General

of the New Hampshire patriot forces, and as such served in the Siege of Boston.

While every man is dependent for success upon his own personal efforts and ambition, certain characteristics may often be traced to remote ancestors, and perhaps few men had such a varied and remarkable lineage. Upon his father's maternal side Dr. Nichols was a lineal descendant of Governors Winthrop, Dudley, and Hutchinson, and the latter's famous wife Anne; also of John Winslow, who married Mary Chilton of the "Mayflower"; Major-General Daniel Denison, whose public services only ended with his death; Rev. John Rogers, one of the early presidents of Harvard College; and a long line of ancestors on his mother's side as well, not one of whom came to this country later than the fifteenth century, who were prominent in all the affairs of the Colonies, both civil and military, and many of whom in their wills left both arms and ammunition to sons and grandsons. And then, on his father's paternal side, was such a remarkable contrast the influence must have been felt for many generations: Thomas Nichols of Amesbury in 1665; his son Thomas, who married Jane Jameson of Salisbury and from whom, through their son David, descends a long line of peace-loving Quakers — honorable, upright men, faithful and worthy citizens when peace and goodwill prevailed, but willing to suffer persecution, imprisonment, or death for their simple faith; Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, who were banished from the Colony, whose daughter Provided has been immortalized by Whittier; Samuel Gaskill, whom she married, who was imprisoned in Boston, and who endured untold suffering for his faith; their son Samuel, whose daughter Hannah married David Nichols, the great-great-grandfather of the subject of this sketch. The Nichols line remained true to the Quaker faith until it came to Captain Ichabod Nichols, a prominent shipping merchant of Salem, who sent four sons to Harvard and whose two daughters married distinguished Harvard graduates — Lydia, who was the mother of Benjamin Peirce, the world-famous mathematician, and Charlotte, who married Charles Sanders, who left a large bequest to Harvard College which was used in building Sanders Theatre in his memory. Captain Ichabod Nichols married out of the Quaker sect a Miss Lydia Ropes of Salem, and on the 12th of November, 1776, he with

his three brothers Samuel, Nathan, and Jonathan were publicly read out of Quaker meeting for "disorderly conduct" in taking an active part in the Revolution. Captain Nichols not only assisted with money, but he joined a company of militia formed in Salem the latter part of 1776, and marched to the Jerseys to reinforce the army of George Washington. Out of respect to his mother, who was Hannah Gaskill, he took no steps to declare his change of faith during her life, but after her death he became a member of the Old North Church of Salem.

From this strong Quaker ancestry may have come Dr. Nichols' quiet reserve and self-control, his simplicity of life, his dislike of ostentation or display, and his strict adherence to duty and to his high ideals of character.

His religion was that of quiet deeds rather than words. He early connected himself with the First Parish Unitarian Church, where, when his professional duties permitted, he was a regular attendant. He was a member of the Standing Committee from 1880 until 1902, Chairman from 1887 to 1902. He was the business head of the church and took part in all its activities. His picture now hangs in the room of the Standing Committee. He served on the Committee on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the church. His breadth of interests and activity increased as the years went on.

When the Cambridge Hospital was opened in 1884, he was elected a visiting physician and was faithful in attendance until 1903, when, having reached the age limit, he resigned. Upon his resignation he was given a reception by the Hospital Staff at the Colonial Club and presented with a handsome silver loving cup as "a token of appreciation and regard." He continued to be a consulting physician until his death. He was visiting physician at the Avon Home for Destitute Children, and later on the Board of Managers. His services to the poor of Cambridge were long and faithful with, for many years, its attendant surgery. They were never made to feel the burden of their indebtedness, and he was ever ready to respond to their calls by night or day. In 1897 he was elected a member of the Board of Consultation of the Danvers Insane Hospital and served with energy and regularity until 1911, when he resigned. In 1901 he was appointed by the Governor a

Trustee of the Foxboro State Hospital for Dipsomaniacs and Inebriates and served until 1907. This required many trips to the hospital and much hard work upon questions of reorganization and administration.

He was on the Board of Managers of the Cambridge Anti-Tuberculosis Society and for several years its Treasurer.

He was generous and helpful to all the younger physicians and deeply interested in students, many of whom were placed directly under his care during their absence from home.

He was a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society and in touch with all the leading physicians, whom he was always glad and willing to call in consultation when he felt that new light might be thrown upon a case by other experience than his own. He was also a member of the American Medical Society; of the Cambridge Society for Medical Improvement; of the Boston Society for Medical Observation; of the Harvard Medical Alumni; Associate Member of the Boston Medical Library and of the Middlesex South District Medical Society, of which he was President in 1892. He wrote and delivered many papers upon cases and other medical subjects before these societies and various other organizations.

He delivered the Annual Discourse before the Massachusetts Medical Society, June 14, 1893, when his paper upon "The Misuse of Drugs in Modern Practice" attracted wide attention.

Besides the arduous duties of his profession, Dr. Nichols took an active interest in everything pertaining to the public good. He was a member of the Cambridge Common Council in 1874-1875.

He was a member of the Committee to visit the Stillman Infirmary of Harvard University.

On February 11, 1874, he was elected a member of the Cambridge Savings Bank Corporation before he was thirty-seven years of age, and although, as a rule, men eminent in the medical profession are not distinguished in finance, he was made a Trustee in 1876 and held this office until his death, a period of more than thirty-five years. Up to this time but two men had served in that capacity so long — Mr. James H. Wyeth was a Trustee for thirty-eight years and Mr. Andrew S. Waitt for fifty years. In point of service he was, at his decease, the oldest Trustee. He was an

Auditor from February 12, 1879, to February 10, 1886, and a member of the Board of Investment from February 13, 1884, to June 19, 1911, when he resigned on account of failing health. He was Vice-President from February 13, 1884, to February 10, 1886, and again from July 7, 1904, until the 10th of the following month, when he was elected President, which important position he filled with the most faithful attention to its duties until June 19, 1911, when he felt compelled to resign, not from waning interest in the bank's affairs, but because he was too conscientious to continue in so responsible a position after he found its duties were too arduous for him to perform. A little more than two months after his resignation he took "his chamber in the silent halls of death," but, from a most striking likeness that hangs on the walls of the rooms of the Corporation on Dunster Street, his benign face looks across to the counting-room where the officials of the bank attend to their daily tasks, and it is certain that, as long as those who labored under his wise and efficient guidance shall live, his example of probity and earnest solicitude for the interest of its patrons will be an inspiration to stimulate their desire to be also faithful to those who confide in the institution.

It was an oft-repeated question of his, "What can we do that is not already being done to ensure the safety of the funds entrusted to our care?" and he was never quite satisfied until legislation was enacted that made the auditing of such a character that it was practically impossible for any calamity to befall the bank.

Possibly no sketch of one's life is complete unless one's foibles are included, but after a business acquaintance of more than thirty-three years, the reader of this paper can say that few men were so free from them as Dr. Nichols. He once remarked that one of his family had told him that his bark was worse than his bite; his bark being always deserved might have caused an unpleasant sensation, but his bite was never severe enough to require a physician's cauterization. It was sometimes interesting to see the fire in his eyes when some proposition was made that might be open to misconstruction.

As a presiding officer Dr. Nichols seldom resorted to anything but mild measures to preserve order, but if a point arose that was left to the chair for decision, the justice of his ruling was never

questioned, because every one present knew it was decided according to the dictates of a conscience void of offense.

He was a Charter Member of the Cambridge Historical Society, a member of the Colonial Club of Cambridge, and an honorary member of the New Hampshire Society of the Cincinnati.

He allowed himself very little rest in summer or winter. He took a delightful trip abroad, in 1875, with his friend and neighboring physician, Dr. Alfred Hosmer, of Watertown, and while his letters were full of enthusiasm and pleasure in all he found to enjoy, both in art and nature, he improved much of his time in visiting hospitals and noting every improvement that he might bring back to his own work.

He also made two visits to Southern California, where his only brother, Willard Atherton Nichols, to whom he was bound by the strongest ties of affection, has made his home for many years, and where Dr. Nichols had an equal interest in what is now a beautiful and flourishing orange grove, planted by his brother and owing its success to his intelligence and care. During the last years of Dr. Nichols' life his brother had come east in summer to visit him in Cambridge, and he was with him when he died.

Throughout his long decline he was patient and uncomplaining, cheering those about him with his hopeful spirit. His loving, gentle wife was his only nurse, assisted by faithful Bridget, who met them at the door when they first crossed the threshold of their own home and who still remains to watch over and care for Mrs. Nichols. Few women have been so faithful, interested, and true, and she is regarded by all as a valued member of the household.

Dr. Nichols' only dread of death, of which he never talked, was the parting from those he loved. This he was mercifully spared, for the end came unawares while he was talking with one of his sons; and the day before his death he had greatly enjoyed a visit from his bright little grandson, Atherton, and his granddaughter, Helen, named for the Helen he so dearly loved.

He died at Little Boar's Head, New Hampshire, where for several years he had a summer home, on the 25th of August, 1911. His remains were taken to Cambridge and placed in his old home, where on the 29th of August private services were held, conducted

by Rev. Dr. Samuel M. Crothers, pastor of the First Parish Church, and later they were removed to the chapel at Mount Auburn for public services, which were largely attended by relatives and friends, and where Dr. Crothers paid a just and well-deserved tribute to the life, character, and worth of Dr. Nichols. The floral offerings from friends, patients, and various organizations with which he had been associated were numerous and beautiful beyond description.

The lesson of his life is one of fidelity, industry, and duty well performed. He was a man of keen insight and sound judgment, safe as well as skillful as a physician, reliable and constant as a friend.

At the conclusion of Mr. Allen's paper the meeting was dissolved.

At this meeting portraits of Sir Matthew Holworthy and Lady Holworthy by Sir Peter Lely were exhibited.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH MEETING

BEING THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING

THE TWENTY-SIXTH MEETING, being the Eighth Annual Meeting, of THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held the twenty-second day of October, nineteen hundred and twelve, at eight o'clock in the evening, in Room J, Emerson Hall, Harvard University.

Vice-President ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS presided. The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The following persons were appointed a committee of three to nominate officers of the Society for the ensuing year: HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY, MOSES P. WHITE, and Rev. JOSEPH S. SWAIM.

The following reports were submitted and approved:

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL AND SECRETARY

By vote of the Council of the Society, in this report are combined the annual report of the Council and that of the Secretary.

Except for the Higginson Memorial meeting on December 21, 1911, the year has been one of regular routine for the Society. The usual meetings of the Society have been held on the fourth Tuesdays of October, January, and April. The Council has met five times, on October 24, 1911, January 9, 1912, April 10, 1912, October 8, 1912, and October 22, 1912.

The same officers have served as during the preceding year, except that at the Annual Meeting Mr. Arthur Drinkwater was elected Secretary to take the place of Mr. Clarence Walter Ayer, resigned. After the death of Rev. Edward Henry Hall, Mr. Wil-

liam Roscoe Thayer was appointed by the Council to fill the vacancy in the office of Vice-President and Mr. Samuel Francis Batchelder was appointed a member of the Council.

Resignations have been received from Mrs. Caroline Eustis Peabody and Mrs. Annie Louise Locke Wentworth, regular members, and Mr. John White Treadwell Nichols, associate member. There have been elected to membership Mr. Arthur Drinkwater, Mrs. Joseph Skinner Swaim, Mr. Clarence Harold Poor, Mr. Edwin Sanford Crandon, Mr. Edwin Atkins Grozier, Mr. James T. Pugh, Rev. Joseph Skinner Swaim, Mrs. Alice Morrill White, Miss Mary Devens, Miss Francis Fowler, Mrs. Morris Longstreth, and Mr. Albert Harrison Hall.

With deep regret the Secretary records the death of our Vice-President, Rev. Edward Henry Hall.

On October 24, 1911, the Annual Meeting was held in Emerson Hall, through the courtesy of Harvard College. Officers were elected and reports of the Council and officers were presented. An interesting sketch of the life of Mrs. Josiah P. Cooke was read by Rev. George Hodges, Dean of the Episcopal Theological School. Professor Lewis Jerome Johnson of Harvard University addressed the meeting informally on "The New Charter of Cambridge, its History and Meaning," and illustrated the plan of preferential voting by means of a mock ballot participated in by the members present.

To commemorate the character and service of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who was a member of this Society at the time of his death on May 9, 1911, a special meeting was held on December 21, 1911, in Sanders Theatre. The Committee which arranged and had charge of the meeting was composed of Mr. William Roscoe Thayer, Chairman, Mr. Richard Henry Dana, Mr. Hollis R. Bailey, Mr. Stoughton Bell, and Mr. Frank Gaylord Cook. Many distinguished persons were invited as guests and attended. The meeting was open to the public. President Richard Henry Dana in his introductory remarks spoke particularly about Colonel Higginson's work in politics, especially Cambridge politics. From among numerous letters received from invited guests who were unable to come Mr. William Roscoe Thayer read letters from Mr. H. M. Alden, editor of "Harper's Magazine," Rev. Henry Van Dyke, and Hon. James

Bryce. The following addresses were given: "The Radical Leader in Peace and War," by Hon. Samuel W. McCall; "The Helper of Woman's Cause," by Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead; "The Citizen and Neighbor," by Rev. Samuel M. Crothers; and "The Man of Letters," by Professor Bliss Perry. The meeting was a fitting tribute to the memory of a great and good man.

On January 23, 1912, the regular winter meeting was held in Emerson Hall. An amendment to Article XV of the By-Laws was adopted. Article XV now reads: "Article XV. Quorum. At meetings of the Society ten members, and at meetings of the Council four members, shall constitute a quorum." The meeting was devoted to the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of Judge Joseph Story's appointment to the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States. In his introductory remarks President Dana commented on Story's life and work in Cambridge. Professor Roscoe Pound of the Harvard Law School, in an address on "Judge Story's Place in the Making of American Law," described the important effect which Story's writings had in preserving the principles of the English common law for the United States and in preventing the adoption of the doctrines of the continental codes.

At the spring meeting on April 23, 1912, four valuable papers were read: "An Historical Account of some Bridges over the Charles River," by Mr. Lewis M. Hastings, City Engineer of Cambridge; "The Building of Holworthy Hall in 1812," by Mr. William Coolidge Lane, Librarian of Harvard College; "The Petition of Daniel Stone in 1678, and some Account of his Family," by Mr. William E. Stone; and "A Sketch of the Life of Dr. J. T. G. Nichols," by Mr. Oscar F. Allen. At this meeting there were exhibited, through the courtesy of Harvard University, the portraits of Sir Matthew and Lady Holworthy, by Sir Peter Lely.

The Longfellow Centenary Prize Medal was awarded this year to Miss Althea Bemis, a pupil of the Cambridge High and Latin School, for her essay on "Longfellow's Narrative Poems." There were six contestants for the medal. On February 27, 1912, a meeting was held at the High and Latin School for the purpose of making the award. President Richard Henry Dana spoke briefly of Longfellow's character and high ideals. Mr. Clarence W. Ayer announced that Miss Bemis was the successful contestant. The

prize was presented by Mrs. Richard Henry Dana. The essay, excellently done and showing real appreciation of the subject, was read by the author. The subject for next year's competition is "Longfellow and the Wayside Inn."

At the last meeting of the Council, on October 22, 1912, it was voted that the Vice-President, Andrew McFarland Davis, be authorized to sign, on behalf of the Society, a memorial to the legislature petitioning to have printed the archives of the Commonwealth.

Owing to the fact that some of the papers read at our meetings could not be obtained from the authors until very recently, the publication of Volume VI of the Proceedings of the Society has been long delayed. The material is now, however, all but complete, most of it has been set up by the printer, and the volume will soon be ready.

The Council would welcome from members suggestions for programs for meetings, including subjects on which addresses might be given, exhibits of interesting matter connected with Cambridge history, and the like. It also reminds members that the Society will gladly receive gifts of old letters, documents, and records of historical interest.

ARTHUR DRINKWATER,

Secretary.

October 22, 1912.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CURATOR

The copy of the annual report of the Curator, Mr. Clarence Walter Ayer, had not been received by the committee on publication at the time of his death.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

IN obedience to the requirements of the By-Laws the Treasurer herewith presents his Annual Report of the Receipts and Disbursements for the year 1911-1912.

CASH ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance, 20 October, 1911		\$579.74
Annual Assessments: Regular Members	\$462.00	
Associate Members	10.00	\$472.00
Interest		1.28
Samuel F. Batchelder, toward expense of corrections on his paper on John Nutting		18.75
Society's Publications sold	1.00	492.98
		<u>\$1,072.72</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

The University Press, printing	\$384.81	
The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, paper used in printing Publi- cations V		84.04
John Carter & Company, stationery		1.85
Clarence W. Ayer, distributing copies of Proceedings V and cash paid for postage, etc.		7.25
Hill, Smith & Company, stationery		3.35
F. W. Spear, printing notices of meetings, etc.		25.65
Thomas W. Higginson, Memorial Meeting:		
S. M. Farnum & Company, engraving	\$17.00	
Bureau of Printing and Engraving, printing	16.85	
Caustic-Claffin Company, programs, tickets, and posters	8.75	
William R. Thayer, postage, etc.	15.10	
William H. Eveleth, taking tickets	1.50	
Harvard University, expenses at Sanders Theatre	15.42	74.62
Edna M. Bullard, stenography and typewriting		2.00
Ella S. Wood, cataloguing		3.00
Sarah L. Patrick, typewriting		7.50
M. L. Odiorne, clerical services rendered the Secretary		5.80
Harriet L. Horne, clerical services rendered the Treasurer		25.00
Bureau of Printing and Engraving		1.50
Mary Isabella Gozzaldi, expenses incurred in copying the Index to Paige's History of Cambridge		14.25
Postage and all petty items		13.61
Doll & Richards, hanging portrait of Sir Matthew and Lady Hol- worthy for exhibition at the April meeting		9.25
Samuel Usher, stamped envelopes		12.50
Balance on deposit, 18 October, 1912		447.24
		<u>\$1,072.72</u>

HENRY H. EDES,
Treasurer.

Boston, 18 October, 1912.

REPORT OF THE AUDITOR

I FIND the foregoing account from 20 October, 1911, to 18 October, 1912, to have been correctly kept and to be properly vouched. I have also verified the Cash Balance of \$447.24.

ARCHIBALD M. HOWE,
Auditor.

Boston, 22 October, 1912.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was read and accepted and the Committee was discharged.

The following persons, nominated by the Committee, were elected by ballot for the ensuing year :

<i>President</i>	RICHARD HENRY DANA.
<i>Vice-Presidents</i>	{ ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS. ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE. WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.
<i>Secretary</i>	ALBERT HARRISON HALL.
<i>Curator</i>	CLARENCE WALKER AYER.
<i>Treasurer</i>	HENRY HERBERT EDES.

The Council.

RICHARD HENRY DANA,
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS,
ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE,
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER,
ALBERT HARRISON HALL,
CLARENCE WALTER AYER,
HENRY HERBERT EDES,

HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY,
SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER,
FRANK GAYLORD COOK,
MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI,
WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,
ALICE MARY LONGFELLOW.

For the first topic of the meeting, MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI read a paper entitled "MERCHANTS OF OLD CAMBRIDGE IN THE EARLY DAYS."

Since another society has a prior right to publish this paper, it is not printed here.

For the second topic of the meeting Rev. WARNER FOOTE GOOKIN read the following paper :

MAJOR-GENERAL DANIEL GOOKIN

THREE hundred years ago, at a date still undetermined, one of the great men of Cambridge was born in England, — one who was great enough, at least, to deserve this passing tribute, the only recognition, I believe, to be given him in the tercentenary of his birth.

It is not my purpose this evening to set forth the details of Daniel Gookin's life. These will be found in fragmentary form in the biographical dictionaries, and need not be repeated in that fashion here. A thorough study of his life and letters, moreover, is soon to be published,¹ privately, by a distinguished member of the family in Chicago, Mr. Frederick W. Gookin, who has spent the leisure moments of many years in the study of the history of the members of the Gookin family. But I do hope, however, so to sketch the main features of my ancestor's life that some of the devoted students of the history of Cambridge gathered here will be aroused to renewed interest in the man whose name is already familiar enough to them.

When one speaks of Daniel Gookin to a company of Cambridge people, there is no need to specify further by describing him as the bearer of the title Major-General. But, for the sake of clearness, it is necessary to state that our interest this evening centers on this Daniel Gookin, and only incidentally on Daniel Gookin, his father, with whom we must begin; for much in the character of our Daniel Gookin can only be understood by connecting him with the brave adventurer who first bore the name.

Daniel Gookin the elder was sent out into the world by the spirit of adventure and discovery which aroused England in the first years of the seventeenth century. He was a man of Kent, of honorable ancestry, and apparently of means and influential con-

¹ Since this was written the book has appeared, in a form unusually attractive for such a work. Well printed, well written, and thorough, it unquestionably rises above the level of genealogical literature into the field of critical history. It is a real biography, the fruit of ripe scholarship.

nections. His first adventure took him to Ireland, where he purchased the castle and lands of Carrigaline, on the shores of Cork Harbor. His brother Vincent, later knighted, also held large possessions near Cork, and developed a considerable fortune there. Vincent is remembered for his bitterness against the Irish. Whether or no Daniel shared his brother's dislike for them does not appear; but clearly Daniel had hardly settled in Ireland before he began to think of further adventures in colonization. The London Company attracted him, and about 1619 he began negotiations, through agents, for terms in the matter of transportation of men and cattle for Virginia. His first offer was to transport five hundred men. The rule at the time was fifty acres for every man transported, with a cash payment for cattle. Daniel Gookin stipulated that he should be given a patent for as much land as had been granted to Sir William Newce, his friend and companion in the venture, of whom, however, little more is known. In November, 1621, Daniel Gookin, in a chartered fifty-ton vessel, the "Flying Hart," with fifty men, and thirty passengers, arrived in Virginia, and landed at Newport News, which, although named for his friend Newce, seems to have been regarded as the settlement of Daniel Gookin. At any rate, a few years later we find the family in possession of thousands of acres, at Newport News, and across the James River, in Nansemond, and the Lower Norfolk County.

In 1630, when our Daniel, of Cambridge, was eighteen years of age, he is found in Virginia in possession of the plantations of his father. Whether he came then, or earlier, has not yet been ascertained. Nor do we know anything of his education. In later years he shows himself a master of English style, and refers familiarly to Greek history; he was probably university-trained, in which case it is unlikely that he came to Virginia much before the first mention of his name. This occurs in an indenture of 1630, wherein he deeds to a certain Thomas Addison, late servant of his father, for good and honest service, one hundred and fifty acres, at Maries Mount, near Newport News.

One fact, however, can be stated with fair certainty. Early in his life he must have come under strong religious influences of the Puritan type. Less than a year after landing in Virginia the elder Daniel experienced the horrors of an Indian attack, with massacre

and butchery all about. Yet in the mind of the son no bitterness nor unreasoning animosity against the savages found place. For him the barbarity of the Indians was a call to evangelize them. And in years to come, as we shall note later, he was willing to suffer privation and abuse for the sake of his Indian friends.

The young man advanced rapidly in the new community. A marriage license issued to him in London in 1639 describes him as a widower, aged twenty-seven. There is nothing to indicate what lies back of this word — a tragedy, perhaps, following an infatuation or wild escapade of youth; perhaps, however, it was merely a clerk's error. In any case, Mary Dolling, called his second wife by all who have taken note of the record of the marriage license, was the mother of his children. In 1642, at thirty years of age, he was at the head of the Commissioners appointed to hold monthly court in Upper Norfolk. In that year he is also named as the Captain of one of the "trained bands" of the Colony. The extent of his landholdings has already been indicated; slaves and cattle there were undoubtedly in abundance.

The first crisis of his life came in the year 1644. In 1642 he joined, or perhaps led, the company of men who petitioned Massachusetts for three ministers. A vacancy in the Parish of Nansemond led to its division into three, for which the ministers from Massachusetts were desired. Cotton Mather's picturesque description of these men as missionaries, who journeyed to Virginia making converts, is perhaps true enough, from his point of view. But when, in the oft-quoted verses, he remarks

"Gookins was one of these: by Thompson's pains,
Christ and New England a dear Gookins gains,"

he is hardly accurate. Daniel Gookin had, along with others in Nansemond and lower Norfolk counties on the south of the James, showed decided leaning towards Parliament and to the Congregational form of worship, long before the coming of Thompson. And his removal to Massachusetts was occasioned not by the preaching of Thompson, but by the measures taken by Governor Berkeley to secure conformity to the Church of England in the parishes of Virginia.

Almost immediately upon his arrival in Boston, in his own ship,

he was admitted to the First Church, and made a freeman of the city. This was the beginning of a long life full of honors and responsibilities in the Massachusetts Colony. Whether these were merely the recognition of wealth and standing, or whether they were rewards for the achievements of character and worth, is a question. Two reasons operated, toward the close of his life, to rob him of his popularity and fame, — a loss from which his name seems never to have recovered. He lost his popularity because of his friendliness to the Indians. This was ten years before his death; and although during the following decade he was a devoted defender of the doomed Charter, what he regained in the way of popularity by that devotion was lost in the wreck of his party. He died a broken man, the zealous advocate of two lost causes. His importance in the early days of Cambridge has, of course, never been forgotten; but little has been said or written in recognition of his work with the Indians, or of his efforts to safeguard the constitutional liberties of our forefathers.

I think we are prepared to-day to admit that the early Colonists were hardly fair to their Indian neighbors. One man, only, as the history has been written, stands out because of his devotion to the Indians. The Charter obligations that called for evangelization as one of the chief privileges of the Colonists was as lightly regarded in religious Massachusetts as in cavalier Virginia. It is to the shame of the Colony, as a whole, that John Eliot is designated *the* Apostle to the Indians. And his work with them was done in addition to his necessary duties as minister of the gospel at Roxbury.

Daniel Gookin settled in Roxbury in 1644. Two years later, the General Court passed an order respecting the diffusion of Christianity among the Indians, and in the same year John Eliot, in "the forty-second year of his age, did intensely set upon the work of preaching Christ to the Indians in New England." This is noted by Daniel Gookin in his "Historical Collections," who in another place in the same work says: "I being his neighbor and intimate friend, at the time he first attempted this enterprise, he was pleased to communicate unto me his design, and the motives that induced him thereunto." Clearly, then, even though the original determination was conceived in the mind of Eliot, the great

purpose was nurtured in the friendship of the two minds, — Eliot the minister, and Gookin the layman.

Eliot's work we all know ; further, we all have noted the statement made in the histories that in 1656 the General Court empowered one of their number to keep a higher court among the Indians every three months. To this work Daniel Gookin, aged forty-four, and a magistrate of four years' standing, was appointed. With the exception of three years spent in England he served as Indian Commissioner until his death. Eliot taught, while Daniel Gookin ruled, the praying Indians. Together, without compensation, they made "many weary journeys among them nearest and under sundry trials, when forced to lodge in their woods and wigwams." Surely these two figures both radiate light in the dark history of our dealings with the Indians. Eliot carried the Gospel ; but just as impressive is this devoted servant of the State, carrying English justice into the depths of the forest, in the name of Christ.

But this devotion was to cost him dear, if the applause of the multitude is to be counted a desirable possession. In 1675 King Philip's War broke out ; and the Colonists were compelled to take bloody punishment for their arrogance and their indifference to the religious welfare of the savages. Not that they so regarded the war ; for it called forth, very naturally perhaps, the bitterest antagonism to all Indians. Immediately the situation of the praying Indians became desperate. Cursed by their tribesmen for their friendship for the English, they were threatened and maltreated by their supposed friends. I think we get here some indication of the hold that Daniel Gookin had gained over them. When we read how they were herded together on Deer Island to protect them from the mobs, with insufficient food and clothing, under unnatural conditions for them, cold and miserable, because of their devotion to the English, we are more than a little astonished. Religious conviction is hardly enough to account for the situation. They had realized the significance of the Commonwealth, and had placed themselves under its protection. Over against the rabble stood the General Court, which to them meant Daniel Gookin. For twenty years he had settled their squabbings and maintained order among them. It was the victory of the white man's justice, in the person of Daniel Gookin.

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The Commissioner had apparently the support of the whole Court as well as of the leading people in his friendship for the Indians, but the bitterness of the community in general is remarkable. He and his loyal friend Danforth were threatened with death in public posters, and abused with the vilest language in private. "God rot his soul . . . he is the devil's interpreter . . . it were no matter if Mr. Danforth and Major Gucking were both hanged" are some of the quotable expressions preserved. In 1676, for the only time Daniel Gookin failed of election to the General Court. He was re-elected, but never later could he become a popular hero. John Eliot had found honor justly; but the main source for what we know of his work is the history written by his friend Daniel Gookin, whose reserve as to his own share in that work was never supplemented by the report of a contemporary. Yet surely it is worthy a better mention in our modern histories.

I am passing over the events that make up the progress of his life. His removal to Cambridge and his prominence here are interesting, but not significant beyond what has already been developed. His share in the town government can be gauged by reference to the public records of the town and selectmen; his military career, in which discipline and efficient supervision are the noteworthy features rather than any share in actual warfare, is fairly well known. A glance at the early indices of the records of Cambridge and Boston will show his share in the public life. He was an active man, engaged in many affairs of importance, both in Cambridge and the General Court, where he served as magistrate for thirty-odd years. During all this time he lived on his own fortune, whatever it may have been. He was frequently honored, to be sure, with considerable grants of land, which may have given him an income. In any case he lived with some elegance, building for himself a house, as many here know, that served the next generation as a social center. He seems to have been arbitrary in his dealings with men, and full of the dignity of importance. He called forth none of the ardent affection with which a community designates its truly great men, but their respect he commanded as a matter of course. Intimate friends, too, he seems to have had — Eliot we have mentioned, who was ten years his senior. Thomas Danforth, ten years his junior, seems to have been a particularly devoted adhe-

rent as well as next-door neighbor. Gookin and Danforth are inseparable names in the records of the General Court, occurring countless times in that order, until Danforth was elected Deputy Governor. Even then Danforth seems to have leaned heavily on his older friend. I emphasize this, because the casual historian, rating Danforth the leader because of his office, fails to note that Gookin's leadership during all the earlier years in many enterprises could hardly have been entirely reversed when the two took counsel together in their struggle for constitutional independence.

This brings us to the other phase of Daniel Gookin's life that is interesting to our age, his share in the charter struggles of the early colony. There in even clearer light we discern the greatness of the man's passion for liberty and justice.

Daniel Gookin was no favorite with royalty. That he had entertained Whaley and Goffe had been early communicated to Charles II by Randolph, who writes to his Sovereign that the regicides "and other traitors were kindly received and entertained by Mr. Guggins and other magistrates." Daniel Gookin was likewise well known to Cromwell, who laid an important though necessarily fruitless mission upon him, — to bring about the removal of the Massachusetts colonists to Jamaica. Yet when Daniel Gookin sent his "Historical Collections" of the Indians to England, he boldly dedicated it to his dread Sovereign, as a testimony of his "affection," desiring to be reckoned among the number of his Majesty's "most dutiful and loyal subjects." But that was in 1674, when the liberties guaranteed by the Charter were not for the moment seriously threatened.

Six years later that same brave old man wrote words that should go ringing down through history, as have those of men who echoed them. They are not contained in an official document, but the original manuscript is in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is a statement prepared by Daniel Gookin for the guidance of a committee appointed to draft instructions for agents to be sent to England; it is written, as one sentence intimates, with the thought that the document itself might be sent to England in lieu of agents. Whether it was or not, I do not know; but one thing I think is clear, — the hand that wrote that

four-page document is the hand that guided the policy followed by the General Court.

Thus he writes, urging that no agents be sent:

1. "Because this pr'cedent, in conceding to send Agent or Agents for the tryalls, and to Answer particular complaints and claymes in England, before his ma'tie, touching proprieties [companies], will (as I humbly conceue) have a tendency, if not certainly subuert and destroy the mayne nerves of o'r Government and Charter, lawes and liberties. Besides (as I apr'hend) it wil bereaue us of o'r liberties as Englishmen, (confirmed many times by magna charta, who are to bee tried in all their concernes, ciuill, or criminal by 12 honest men of the neighbourhood, under oath and in his ma'ties Courts, before his sworn Judges and not before his ma'ties Royal person; surely o'r com'g 3 thousand miles under security of his ma'ties title, and by his good leave to plant this howling wilderness, hath not deuusted us of that native liberty w'h o'r countrymen enjoy. Now if Mr. Mason haue any claime to make, of any man within this jurisdiction, his ma'ties Courts heere established by charter are open to him: And hee may implead any man yt doth him wrong before ye Jury and sworne Judges; according to law and patent heretofore and lately confirmed by his Royal ma'tie as under his signet doth or may appeare."

.
 "2: I verily Belieue yt so gracious a prince as o'r king is will bee very slow to deal so seuerely against his poore loyall subjects yt Are not conscious wee haue shewed any disloyalty to him or his pr'desc'rs, nor have been unwilling to obey him in the lord. But when the case is so circumstanced yt we must be Accounted offenders, or Ruine o'rselues; of 2 evels ye least is to be chosen.

"3. But if it should bee soe yt wee must suffer in this case wee may have ground to hope yt God o'r father in Cht will support and comfort us in all o'r tribulations and in his due time deliuer vs. Much more might be s'd Touching the pr'my'es. But I have been too tedious And longer yn I intended for wch I crave yr pardon and humbly intreat a candid construction of this paper a coveringe of all the imperfections yr off: This case, as is aboue hinted, is very momentous and therefore I intreat you candidly to peruse what is s'd, if there bee little waight in it (as some may thinke) it is satisfactory to me, that I haue offered it to yr consideration, and yt I have in this great cause (before I goe hence and bee no more wch I must shortly expect) giuen my testimony and declared my judgment in this great concerne of Jesus Cht, To whom I

commit all and yorselues also desiring him to be to you as hee is in himselfe, the mighty counsellor, King of Kings and Lord of Lords.

I remain your most humble seruant and His ma'ties most Loyal Subject,

DANIEL GOOKIN, Sen'r."

But the struggles of the Charter party were unavailing. Too many in the Colony had not yet realized that the cause of liberty was at stake; when the news came that the patent had been forfeited, there was nothing but tame submission.

One year later, Daniel Gookin died, a broken man. He had written seditious words, but none had taken them up as the battle-cry of rebellion. Another century of preparation was necessary before that should come. So Daniel Gookin was laid away in Cambridge in an honorable but little noticed sepulcher,—the friend of despised Indians, the defender of liberties, little desired by the men of his generation.

What can we say further? He was not a hero, he accomplished nothing. To this very day we use the Indians shamefully; and to other men belongs the glory of having won our liberties by their blood. But in his day Daniel Gookin served his God and his State with wisdom and devotion. What more can man do? So we think of him this evening, the three hundredth year since his birth. And may I, as one of his few descendants, bearing his name, thank you for this privilege you have given me of talking to you about him, well convinced that he is worthy of your more intimate knowledge.

At the conclusion of Rev. Mr. Gookin's paper the meeting was dissolved.

GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY

OWING to the untimely death of the Curator, Mr. Clarence Walter Ayer, the preparation of the list of gifts has been delayed and its publication is postponed to the next volume of proceedings.

NECROLOGY

The original obituary sketches are on file in the Society's archives.

FOOTE, MARY BRADFORD, was born in Windsor, Vt., March 26, 1827. She was descended from Nathaniel Foote, who was one of the pioneer settlers of Watertown, Mass., and later on of Weathersfield, Conn. Her grandfather, George Foote, was one of the pioneer settlers, first of Castleton and afterwards of Bennington, Vt., and was with Colonel Ethan Allen when on May 10, 1775, he demanded the surrender of Ticonderoga, in the name of the Continental Congress. Her mother was Rosa Hutchins of Bath, N. H.

The Foote family moved from Windsor, Vt., to Cambridge, when Miss Foote was about fifteen years old. Here she attended Mr. Austin's school in Farwell Place. Afterwards she became for a short time both pupil and teacher (of Latin) in Mr. George B. Emerson's school in Pemberton Square, Boston. While still very young she did excellent mathematical work on *The Nautical Almanac* under the direction of Admiral Davis. After spending several years abroad with Mrs. Sarah P. Cleveland of Nutwood, Jamaica Plain, she established in the early sixties a school for young ladies in West Cedar Street, Boston, from which she retired in 1885. From 1885 till 1910 Miss Foote lived much abroad. The last two years of her life were spent in Cambridge where she died February 3, 1912.

The **REV. EDWARD HENRY HALL** died in Cambridge February 22, 1912. He was the eldest son of the Rev. Edward Brooks Hall and Harriet (Ware) Hall and was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, April 16, 1831. He fitted for college at the High School in Providence, Rhode Island, where his father was settled for more than thirty years as the pastor of the Unitarian Church. He graduated from Harvard with the class of 1851. He attended the Harvard Divinity School, where he graduated in 1855. In 1902 Harvard conferred on him the degree of S.T.D. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society and served as a member of its Council for two years following the Annual Meeting of 1907. Mr. Hall held three pastorates over Unitarian churches — the first at Plymouth, the next at Worcester, and the last in Cambridge. He was installed as minister of the First Parish and First Church in Cambridge

(Unitarian) March 30, 1882. He resigned his pastorate March 31, 1893. Mr. Hall was strong mentally, morally, and physically. He was public-spirited and interested in all that concerned the welfare of his country. He was fond of the fine arts and made a critical study of painting and of things closely connected with that subject. He was much beloved by those who knew him well, and all were sorry when he felt that it was best that he should retire from the ministry.

VAUGHAN, BENJAMIN, was the son of William Manning Vaughan and of Anne (Warren) Vaughan, who was a great-niece of General Joseph Warren of Revolutionary fame. He was born in Hallowell, Me., November 3, 1837, and died in Cambridge July 2, 1912. He married on May 8, 1864, in Philadelphia, Anna Harriet Goodwin, daughter of the Rev. Daniel R. Goodwin, former President of Trinity College, and then Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. He attended school at the Hallowell Academy; removed to Cambridge in 1857 and entered the office of Jerome G. Kidder, who did a commission business in oil and coal. He rose to be a partner of Mr. Kidder, and finally he established, and was president of, the Beacon Oil Company. This became the Oil Company for New England, which he sold out nearly thirty years ago. Mr. Vaughan permanently retired from the oil business, but continued his commission business in coal, under the firm name of Vaughan & Mann, until January 1, 1912, when he dissolved the partnership. On his retirement, he was the oldest coal merchant in Boston, having a record of over 54 years. In 1868 he joined the Home Guard in Cambridge, and was commissioned first lieutenant in the 61st Massachusetts Volunteers under Col. Charles F. Walcott. He was dangerously wounded before Petersburg in 1865, and retired with a captain's brevet. Mr. Vaughan took part in various Cambridge interests. He was the director of the Cambridge Trust Company; treasurer of the Longfellow Memorial Association; and a promoter of the Cambridge Coffee House Association. For more than 40 years he worshipped at St. John's Memorial Church (Episcopalian), Cambridge, and was the last survivor of the original Association of the Congregation. He was one of the founders and an active supporter of the Old Cambridge Dramatic Club; a member of the Commercial and Union Club, Boston; of the Brookline and Oakley Country Club; of the Eastern, Massachusetts and Portland Yacht Clubs; of the Colonial Club of Cambridge; of several shooting clubs; and of a Cambridge Dining Club. He resided at 57 Garden St. His widow and two children — Miss Bertha H. and Henry G. (H. C. 1890) survive him.

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SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER	FRANK GAYLORD COOK
MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI	WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE
ALICE MARY LONGFELLOW	

COMMITTEES APPOINTED BY THE COUNCIL

1912-1913

On the Early Roads and Topography of Cambridge.

STEPHEN PASCHALL SHARPLES, EDWARD JOHN BRANDON,
EDWARD RUSSELL COGSWELL.

On the Collection of Autograph Letters of Distinguished Citizens of Cambridge.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,
HENRY HERBERT EDES.

On Sketches of Noted Citizens of Cambridge.

MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI, EDWARD RUSSELL COGSWELL,
SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER.

On the Collection and Preservation of Printed and Manuscript Material.

WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, CLARENCE WALTER AYER,
EDWIN BLAISDELL HALE.

Of Publication.

CLARENCE WALTER AYER, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE,
HENRY HERBERT EDES.

On Memoirs of Deceased Members.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY.

On the Collection of Oral Tradition and Early Letters and other Documents of Citizens of Cambridge.

MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI,
MARGARET JONES BRADBURY, GRACE OWEN SCUDDER,
ELIZABETH ELLERY DANA, GEORGE GRIER WRIGHT,
MARY HELEN DEANE, SUSANNA WILLARD.

To Audit the Accounts of the Treasurer.

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

On the Longfellow Centenary Medal Prize.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER,
EDWARD BANGS DREW, CLARENCE WALTER AYER.

REGULAR MEMBERS

ABBOT, MARION STANLEY
ALLEN, FLORA VIOLA
ALLEN, FRANK AUGUSTUS
ALLEN, MARY WARE
ALLEN, OSCAR FAYETTE
ALLISON, CARRIE JOSEPHINE
ALLISON, SUSAN CARLYLE
AUBIN, HELEN WARNER
AUBIN, MARGARET HARRIS
AYER, CLARENCE WALTER

BAILEY, HOLLIS RUSSELL
BAILEY, MARY PERSIS
BANCROFT, WILLIAM AMOS
BARNARD, CLARA EVERETT
BATCHELDER, SAMUEL FRANCIS
BEALE, JOSEPH HENRY
BELL, STOUGHTON
BIGELOW, FRANCIS HILL
BIGELOW, MELVILLE MADISON
BILL, CAROLINE ELIZA
BLAKE, JAMES HENRY
BLISH, ARIADNE
BLODGETT, WARREN KENDALL
BRADBURY, MARGARET JONES
BRADBURY, WILLIAM FROTHING-
HAM
BRANDON, EDWARD JOHN
BROCK, ADAH LEILA CONE
BROOKS, ARTHUR HENDRICKS
BULFINCH, ELLEN SUSAN
BUMSTEAD, JOSEPHINE FREE-
MAN
CARRUTH, ANNA KENT
CARRUTH, CHARLES THEODORE

CARY, EMMA FORBES
CLARK, ELIZABETH HODGES
COES, MARY
COGSWELL, EDWARD RUSSELL
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CORNE, WILLIAM FREDERICK
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CRANDON, EDWIN SANFORD
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CUTTER, WATSON GRANT

DALLINGER, WILLIAM WILBER-
FORCE
DANA, EDITH LONGFELLOW
DANA, ELIZABETH ELLERY
DANA, HENRY WADSWORTH
LONGFELLOW
DANA, RICHARD HENRY
DAVIS, ANDREW MCFARLAND
DAVIS, ELEANOR WHITNEY
DEANE, GEORGE CLEMENT
DEANE, MARY HELEN
DEANE, WALTER
DEVENS, MARY
DODGE, EDWARD SHERMAN
DREW, EDWARD BANGS
DRINKWATER, ARTHUR
DUNBAR, WILLIAM HARRISON
DURRELL, HAROLD CLARKE

EDES, GRACE WILLIAMSON
EDES, HENRY HERBERT
ELIOT, CHARLES WILLIAM
ELIOT, GRACE HOPKINSON
ELIOT, SAMUEL ATKINS

ELLIS, HELEN PEIRCE
EMERTON, EPHRAIM
EVARTS, PRESCOTT

FARLOW, LILIAN HORSFORD
FENN, WILLIAM WALLACE
FESSENDEN, MARION BROWN
FISKE, ETHEL
FOOTE, MARY BRADFORD
FORBES, EDWARD WALDO
FORD, LILIAN FISK
FORD, WORTHINGTON CHAUN-
CEY

FOSTER, FRANCIS APTHORP
FOWLER, FRANCES
FOX, JABEZ
FOXCROFT, FRANK

GAMWELL, EDWARD FRANCIS
GOODWIN, AMELIA MACKAY
GOZZALDI, MARY ISABELLA
GRAY, ANNA LYMAN
GRAY, JOHN CHIPMAN
GROZIER, EDWIN ATKINS

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HALL, ALBERT HARRISON
*HALL, EDWARD HENRY
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HART, ALBERT BUSHNELL
HAYES, WILLIAM ALLEN
HILL, FREDERIC STANHOPE
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HOPPIN, ELIZA MASON
HORSFORD, KATHARINE
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HOUGHTON, ELIZABETH HARRIS
HOUGHTON, ROSERYSS GILMAN
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WELL

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LEAVITT, ERASMUS DARWIN
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LONGFELLOW, WILLIAM PITT
PREBLE

LONGSTRETH, MARY OLIVIA
LOWELL, ABBOTT LAWRENCE

MARCOU, PHILIPPE BELKNAP
McDUFFIE, JOHN
McINTIRE, CHARLES JOHN
McKENZIE, ALEXANDER
MELLEGE, ROBERT JOB
MERRIMAN, DOROTHEA FOOTE
MERRIMAN, ROGER BIGELOW
MITCHELL, EMMA MARIA
MORISON, ANNE THERESA
MORISON, ROBERT SWAIN
MUNROE, EMMA FRANCES
MYERS, JAMES JEFFERSON

NORTON, GRACE
NORTON, MARGARET
NOYES, JAMES ATKINS

PAINE, JAMES LEONARD
PAINE, MARY WOOLSON
PARKER, HENRY AINSWORTH

* Deceased.

PARLIN, FRANK EDSON
 PARSONS, CAROLINE LOUISA
 PERRIN, FRANKLIN
 PICKERING, ANNA ATWOOD
 PICKERING, EDWARD CHARLES
 PICKERING, WILLIAM HENRY
 *PIPER, WILLIAM TAGGARD
 POOR, CLARENCE HAROLD
 POTTER, ALFRED CLAGHOEN
 PUGH, JAMES THOMAS

RAND, HARRY SEATON
 READ, ELISE WELCH
 READ, JOHN
 READ, WILLIAM
 REARDON, EDMUND
 REID, WILLIAM BERNARD
 ROBINSON, FRED NORRIS
 ROPES, JAMES HARDY
 RUNKLE, JOHN CORNELIUS
 RUSSELL, ETTA LOIS

SAUNDERS, CARRIE HUNTING-
 TON
 SAUNDERS, HERBERT ALDEN
 SAWYER, DORA WENTWORTH
 SAWYER, GEORGE AUGUSTUS
 SAWYER, GEORGE CARLETON
 SCUDDER, GRACE OWEN
 SEAGRAVE, CHARLES BURNSIDE
 SHARPLES, STEPHEN PASCHALL
 SMITH, EMMA GRISCOM
 STEARNS, GENEVIEVE
 STONE, WILLIAM EBEN
 STORER, SARAH FRANCIS
 SWAIM, CAROLINE TIFFANY

SWAIM, JOSEPH SKINNER
 TAYLOR, FREDERIC WESTON
 THAYER, WILLIAM ROSCOE
 THORP, JOSEPH GILBERT
 TICKNOR, FLORENCE
 TICKNOR, THOMAS BALDWIN
 TILLINGHAST, WILLIAM HOP-
 KINS
 TINDELL, MARTHA WILLSON
 NOYES
 TOPPAN, SARAH MOODY
 TURNER, FREDERICK JACKSON

VAUGHAN, ANNA HARRIET
 *VAUGHAN, BENJAMIN
 WALCOTT, ANNA MORRILL
 WALCOTT, ROBERT
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 WASHBURN, HENRY BRADFORD
 WESSELHOEFT, MARY LEAVITT
 WESSELHOEFT, WALTER
 WHITE, ALICE MAUD
 WHITE, MOSES PERKINS
 WHITTEMORE, ISABELLA STEW-
 ART
 WHITTEMORE, WILLIAM RICH-
 ARDSON
 WILLARD, SUSANNA
 WILLIAMS, OLIVE SWAN
 WINLOCK, MARY PEYTON
 WORCESTER, SARAH ALICE
 WRIGHT, GEORGE GRIER
 WYMAN, MARY MORRILL
 WYMAN, MORRILL
 YERXA, HENRY DETRICK

* Deceased.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

BARKER, JOHN HERBERT	GOODWIN, ELLIOT HERSEY
CARTER, CHARLES MORLAND	LEVERETT, GEORGE VASMER
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FELTON, EUNICE WHITNEY	WADHAMS, CAROLINE REED
FARLEY	

HONORARY MEMBERS

CHOATE, JOSEPH HODGES	HOWELLS, WILLIAM DEAN
RHODES, JAMES FORD	

BY-LAWS

I. CORPORATE NAME.

THE name of this corporation shall be "THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY."

II. OBJECT.

The corporation is constituted for the purpose of collecting and preserving Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials, of procuring the publication and distribution of the same, and generally of promoting interest and research, in relation to the history of Cambridge in said Commonwealth.

III. REGULAR MEMBERSHIP.

Any resident of the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shall be eligible for regular membership in this Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Persons so elected shall become members upon signing the By-Laws and paying the fees therein prescribed.

IV. LIMIT OF REGULAR MEMBERSHIP.

The regular membership of this Society shall be limited to two hundred.

V. HONORARY MEMBERSHIP.

Any person, nominated by the Council, may be elected an honorary member at any meeting of the Society by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Honorary members shall be exempt from paying any fees, shall not be eligible for office, and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VI. ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP.

Any person not a resident, but either a native, or formerly a resident for at least five years, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shall be eligible to

associate membership in the Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Associate members shall be liable for an annual assessment of two dollars each, payable in advance at the Annual Meeting, but shall be liable for no other fees or assessments, and shall not be eligible for office and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VII. SEAL.

The Seal of the Society shall be: Within a circle bearing the name of the Society and the date, 1905, a shield bearing a representation of the Daye Printing Press and crest of two books surmounted by a Greek lamp, with a representation of Massachusetts Hall on the dexter and a representation of the fourth meeting-house of the First Church in Cambridge on the sinister, and, underneath, a scroll bearing the words *Scripta Manent*.

VIII. OFFICERS.

The officers of this corporation shall be a Council of thirteen members, having the powers of directors, elected by the Society, and a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary with the powers of Clerk, a Treasurer, and a Curator, elected out of the Council by the Society. All the above officers shall be chosen by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for the term of one year and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. The Council shall have power to fill all vacancies.

IX. PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and shall be Chairman of the Council. In case of the death, absence, or incapacity of the President, his powers shall be exercised by the Vice-Presidents, respectively, in the order of their election.

X. SECRETARY.

The Secretary shall keep the records and conduct the correspondence of the Society and of the Council. He shall give to each member of the Society written notice of its meetings. He shall also present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XI. TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds and securities, and shall keep in proper books the accounts, of the corporation. He shall receive and collect all fees and other dues owing to it, and all donations and testamentary gifts made to it. He shall make all investments and disbursements of its funds, but only with the approval of the Council. He shall give the Society a bond, in amount and with sureties satisfactory to the Council, conditioned for the proper performance of his duties. He shall make a written report at each Annual Meeting. Such report shall be audited prior to the Annual Meeting by one or more auditors appointed by the Council.

XII. CURATOR.

The Curator shall have charge, under the direction of the Council, of all Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials of the Society, except the records and books kept by the Secretary and Treasurer. He shall present a written report at each Annual Meeting.

XIII. COUNCIL.

The Council shall have the general management of the property and affairs of the Society, shall arrange for its meetings, and shall present for election from time to time the names of persons deemed qualified for honorary membership. The Council shall present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XIV. MEETINGS.

The Annual Meeting shall be held on the fourth Tuesday in October in each year. Other regular meetings shall be held on the fourth Tuesdays of January, and April of each year, unless the President otherwise directs. Special meetings may be called by the President or by the Council.

XV. QUORUM.

At meetings of the Society ten members, and at meetings of the Council four members, shall constitute a quorum.

XVI. FEES.

The fee of initiation shall be two dollars. There shall also be an annual assessment of three dollars, payable in advance at the Annual

Meeting; but any Regular Member shall be exempted from the annual payment if at any time after his admission he shall pay into the Treasury Fifty Dollars in addition to his previous payments; and any Associate Member shall be similarly exempted on payment of Twenty-five Dollars. All commutations shall be and remain permanently funded, the interest only to be used for current expenses.

XVII. RESIGNATION OF MEMBERSHIP.

All resignations of membership must be in writing, provided, however, that failure to pay the annual assessment within six months after the Annual Meeting may, in the discretion of the Council, be considered a resignation of membership.

XVIII. AMENDMENT OF BY-LAWS.

These By-Laws may be amended at any meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting, provided that the substance of the proposed amendment shall have been inserted in the call for such meeting.

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**This book is under no circumstances to be
taken from the Building**

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Form 410

